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Patron of the Society.

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Shams-ul-ulama Sir JIVANJI J. MODI, Kt., C.I.E., Ph.D.
President of the Society.

JOURNAL

OF THE

BOMBAY BRANCH

OF THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

125 Years' ANNIVERSARY NUMBER.

RUSTAM MANOCK (1635-1721 A. C.), THE BROKER OF THE
ENGLISH EAST INDIA COMPANY (1699 A.C.), AND
THE PERSIAN QISSEH (HISTORY) OF RUSTAM
MANOCK. A STUDY.

BY DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI.

Read before the B. B. R. A. Society, on Monday, the 27th August 1928.

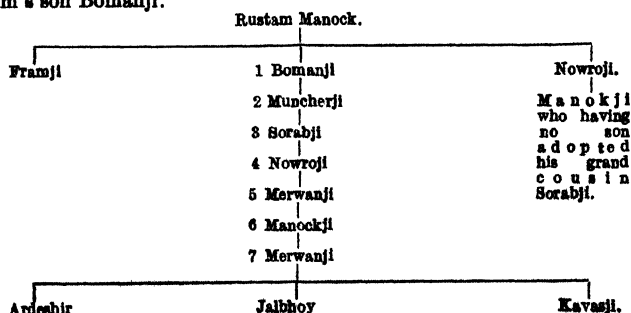
I.

Introduction.

THE subject of this paper has suggested itself to me on the inspection of five ¹ documents of the time of the United East India Company. These documents have been kindly lent to me for inspection and study by Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth, the 8th heir in direct descent ² from Rustam Manock, who forms the subject

¹ Two of the documents are, as will be seen later on, of the same tenor.

² The undermentioned tree gives Mr. Kavasji Seth's line of descent. It is prepared from a book entitled "સેથ કાન્દાણીના વંશવૃક્ષનો સંક્ષેપિત ઇતિહાસ." (The Genealogy of the Seth Khandan family and its brief account) by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth (1900 A.C.). The Hon'ble Sir Pheroze C. Sethna also is 8th in descent from Rustam Manock from the line of another son of Rustam's son Bomanji.



of this paper. I beg to submit these documents here for inspection. They are dated from 1723 to 1725, and refer to the affairs between Rustam Manock, who died in 1721, and the East India Company.

I took copies of the documents with the help of a magnifying glass, and then, later on, found, that three of the documents were published by Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth about 28 years ago.³ But as few copies of this book were published and that only for private circulation, and as Mr. Jalbhoy has given them in the modern spelling, I give these documents at the end in this paper with their old spelling. Mr. Jalbhoy has not published one of the documents—the third—probably because it is very faint and difficult to be deciphered. It has got still fainter now. However, I have, with some difficulty, deciphered a large part of it. The portion deciphered seems to be sufficient to tell us what it is about.

The object of the paper is three-fold:—A. To examine *Object of the* and explain the documents. B. To give *Paper.* a brief account of the life of Rustam Manock, who was a broker, not only of the English East India Company and of the United East India Company but also of the Portuguese, and most probably also of the Dutch. C. To examine the Historical events, etc., referred to in a Persian poem, entitled “Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock.”

II.

(A) The Documents.

I will, at first, speak of the Documents. They are the following:—

1. A letter, dated “London, the 19th August 1723”, addressed to “Our President and Council of Bombay” and signed by 17 members of the Court of Directors who speak of themselves, when signing, as “Your Loving Friends”. We have two copies of it. One, torn away a good deal, and the other, in good condition. The covers of both bear the following address: “To the Hon’ble the President and Council for all the Forces and Affairs of the English Nation at Bombay” 19th August 1724. The reason why we have two copies is explained in the letter itself, which speaks of six copies being sent to prevent loss. The covering

³ શ્રી રોડ આનદાનની વંશાવલી તથા દુકાં એકુવાલ, બનચોક્કોલકલ દ્વી તથા અગ્રિ સાધે ઈસવી સને ૧૮૦૦.

address of both the copies bear seals, which say "Engl. E. Ind. Comp." (i.e., English East India Company). Both the copies, which I produce for inspection, give the year as 1724. But the late Mr. Jalbhoy Seth gives, in his *Genealogy of the Seth Khandan family* (p. 12), the year as 1723. We do not know what year the other four copies gave. From the contents of the letter, I think the year 1723 is correct, because it does not at all speak of the award of 1724, and says that the Papers will be examined. So, it seems to have been sent before the award.

2. An award, dated 18th January 1724, made and signed by four arbitrators—Mathew Decker, Jos Wordsworth, E. Harrison and John Heathcote. They have ended the award as follows : "Wee the said Arbitrators have to this our award sett our hands and seals this Eighteenth day of January in the Eleventh year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain and France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, or Anno Domini 1724". The signatories have added the words "I. S."^{3a} after their names. This award is attested by Hervey and George Lloyd,⁴ with the words "Sealed and Delivered (being first duly stamp't) in the presence of".

3. The third document has got faint and is not wholly legible. It is a document from the office of the Lord Mayor. It says at the bottom : "If faith and testimony of writer and Lord Mayor

"Seal of

"put and approved

'on Fourth day of February of the Reign of our Sovereign and King of Great Britain.

1724."

This document refers to the above second document of 18th of January 1724 and seems to be a document relating to registration. It is marked in blue pencil as "Notarial Seal to the Award."

^{3a} I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestonji Khareghat, I.C.S. (Retd.) for the following information on the subject :

"I cannot at present find in any book with me as to what the letters I. S. after the signature in the old deed mean, but if they immediately precede the seal and follow the signature, I can conjecture that they may stand for "Ipsius Signum" — i.e., "his own signature or seal", like our "તેજાનું ચિહ્ન."

⁴ The words "and George" are not quite clear. So, I have given them as in Mr. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth's *Genealogy of the Seth Family*, p. 25.

4. The fourth document is indirectly concerned with the East India Company. It refers to Rustam Manock's sons who are referred to in the above two documents. It is a letter addressed to "Messrs. Framji Rustomjee and Bomanjee Rustomjee", two sons of Rustam Manock in India. It is dated "London 25th March 1725" and written by Cha Boonet, who was, before this time, at Surat in the English Factory.

I give below the substance of the above documents.

*Substance of
the 1st document
—the Directors'
Letter of 19th
August 1723 to
the President
and Council of
Bombay.*

The substance of the letter of 17 Directors of the United East India Company, dated 19th August 1723, and addressed to the "President and Council of Bombay" is as follows:—

1. Received your packets and advices by ships King George, Stanhope and Salisbury.
2. We have learnt your desire that (a) the late brokers (Rustam Manock and Sons) should "give us satisfaction as to all just demands upon them", (b) that you want to give proofs about the affairs "from their (*i.e.*, the Brokers') own books and accounts" and (c) that "matters of difference that may arise" may be determined by arbitration of members chosen by both sides.
3. We learn that Framji (Rustam Manock's son) "is in custody at the Surat Durbar and Bomanjee remains confined in his house at Bombay."
4. Ship Salisbury, which arrived at Spithead the latter end of April last, brought Nowrojee from Surat and he "hath laid before us several papers and accounts which are ordered to be perused and taken into consideration."
5. Some of the papers given by him refer to "the case of Framjee in close prison" at Suart "on the application of the English Chiefs, Mr. Hope and afterwards Messrs. Cowans and Courtenay" to Momeen Cann the Surat Governor; and, on a letter by Governor Phipps, (a) Framji was first confined, (b) "then guards" were "set on his father Rustomjee's house"; (c) Framjee was forced to pay to the above Surat Governor or Nawab Rs. 50,000 and also Rs. 200 a day "for leave to supply the people

in the house with provisions and water." (d) Framjee has also been submitted to corporal punishment.

6. "However the case be" the Directors direct and order that Bomanjee at Bombay may be set at liberty and that application be made to the (Mogul) Governor of Surat to set free Framjee and to take off the guards from their father's house. The Directors added: "our desire being to end all differences amicably, for we would not have him oppressed."
7. Six letters "all of the same tenor" are given to Nowrojee, as "he intends to send them overland if any should miscarry, the rest may come safe and earlier than by shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till proper season."

The Directors, as said in their letter dated 19th August 1723

Substance of the 2nd document,— the Award of the Arbitrators. to their President and Council at Bombay, tried to settle the differences amicably, and the case was referred to four arbitrators, two from both sides—the United East India Company and the heirs of Rustam Manock. The following were the arbitrators: 1. (Sir) Mathew Decker, 2. Josias Wordsworth, 3. Edward Harrison and John Heathcote. They declared their award duly signed by all of them on 18th January 1724. The following is the substance of the award:—

- (1) An Indenture dated 18th November (1723) was made between the United East India Company and Nowrojee Rustomjee, then residing in London. The Indenture recited that:—

- (a) "Several accounts, claims and demands had been depending and several disputes and controversies had arisen" between the United East India Company and Nowrojee, Framjee and Bamanjee "in their or one of their own proper right as in the rights of Rustomjee Manockjee father" of the above three sons.

- (b) The two parties desired to bring an amicable settlement and therefore "had indifferently elected and chosen four persons to be arbitrators."

- (c) Both the parties agreed to "well and truly stand to, abide, observe, perform, fulfill and keep (*i.e.*, accept) the award."
- (2) The award was made "at the East India House in Leadenhall Street, London, on or before the Eighteenth day of this instant January."
- (3) It was agreed by the parties that the award "should be made a Rule of His Majesty's Court of King's Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining differences by Arbitration."
- (4) The Arbitrators having "fully heard and examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Parties and maturely weighed and considered the same and the matter in difference between them," declared their award as follows :—
- (a) On the 18th of November 1723, there was due from the United East India Company to the three brothers, sons of Rustomjee Manockjee, sums of money as follows :—
- (1) Rs. 91,367 and pies 29½, by "virtue of one Bond Deed or Interest Bill, dated 15th May 1716."
 - (2) Rs. 51,840 by virtue of another Bond and Bill dated 4th October 1716.
 - (3) There were other sums due to the brothers upon other "several accounts depending between them and the United Company."

The total due to the brothers, including the above named two sums, came to Rs. 5,46,390.

- (b) This sum of Rs. 5,46,390 to be paid as follows :—
- (1) £1,925 "sterling money being the amount or value in England of Rs. 170,000" to be paid on or before the 1st February now next ensuing (*i.e.*, on 1st February 1724). On that payment being made Nowrojee was to return to the United Company the above bond of 15th May 1716.

(2) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid in Bombay on or before 1st February 1725 A.D., the brothers to pass a receipt for the sum.

(3) Rs. 1,88,195 to be paid at Bombay on or before the 1st February 1726.

On the receipt of the last instalment the brothers were to pass "a General Release." They were also to pass a Bond of sufficient penalty to indemnify the Company against all claims and demands.

This document is a kind of Registration document. It is from
Substance of the 3rd Document. Sir Edward Mathew Decker, Knight, Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of London. It is very faint and not very legible.

Sometime after the declaration of the award, Charles Boonet, who was at one time a leading member of the
Substance of the 4th Document. English Factory at Surat, and who, knowing the late broker Rustam Manock well, seems to have taken an interest in the case of his sons, wrote a letter dated 25th March 1725, to the brothers who were in Bombay. The substance of the letter is as follows :—

- (1) I have received several letters from you and have sent replies to some at the hands of Capt. Hide and Mr. Thomas Waters.
- (2) You did wrong in sending Nowrojee to England without a letter of Attorney "under your hands after the English Manner."
- (3) You ought to have sent with him "the original Bonds which were the most material things wanting."
- (4) I have done my best to help and advise Nowrojee. Do not tell to anybody "what methods have been taken in England relating to this business." If that was done it will "greatly prejudice the affairs."
- (5) I have settled the dispute between Nowrojee and Capt. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man-of-War (the ship by which Nowrojee went to England).
- (6) I have received from Nowrojee what was due to me. In case my Agent Mr. Thomas Waters has received that, ere this, from you, this will be returned to you.

- (7) You brothers must live peacefully. There is a chance of your being appointed brokers again. But if you will fight among yourselves, you will spoil your cause.
- (8) Nowrojee has worked very hard here and had fallen ill. You therefore give him a good present for his services. "Everybody here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction of the Hon'ble Company and for the good and interest of his Brothers and family."
- (9) Mr. Boonet objects to the brothers deducting, as stated in their letter of 10th September 1722, Rs. 26,458 and 33 pice, given to Mr. Hope as Vice-Consul for Commission at 5 per cent. and asks that sum to be recovered from Mr. Hope with interest, as the arrangement with him was that he was to get commission on what he should collect himself, in which case he had to stand as security. Fortunately "your affairs have taken a favourable turn"; otherwise "my consulage must have been lost by Mr. Hope's neglecting my orders."
- (10) The Company gave "perquisites" to its servants. "The Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception and the excusing the servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary act and designed only as an encouragement to young beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in stocks, otherwise the name of a Company's servant might cover many cargoes as Mr. Hope has done."
- (11) "Recommends his new attorney Mr. Thomas Waters."
- (12) Your brother has settled through me "his affair with Commodore Mathews." I have been useful to you. You likewise be useful to me.

The story of the documents, in brief, is this: Rustam Manock, an influential Parsee of Surat, who had, on account of his influence and generosity, received the surname of Seth, was appointed the broker, at Surat, of the English East India Company and then of the United East India Company. He was dismissed after some years by the Governor

*The Story of
the Documents in
brief.*

of Bombay against the wishes of the President and Council of Surat who wished him to be re-instated. The Companies owed him a large amount which remained unpaid upto the time of his death in 1721. He had left three sons, who had disputes with the English factors at Surat on their father's death, about the above debt. So, one of them, Framjee, the eldest, was detained in custody at his own house at Bombay and the second, Bomanjee, was confined in his own house at Surat by the Nabob or the Mogul Governor of Surat at the instance of the English factors. So, Nowrojee,⁵ the third and youngest son, went to London to place his and his brothers' case before the Directors of the United Company. The Company sent orders here to release the two brothers and they and Nowrojee agreed to refer the matter of dispute to arbitration. The award of the four arbitrators was unanimously in favour of the brothers.

III.

Early English Trade and the East India Companies.

I will give here, at first, a brief account of the three East India Companies, with two of which—the English East India Company and the United East India Company—Rustam Manock had come into direct contact as their broker.

India traded with the West by land-route from very ancient times. Then, the Crusades (1095 to 1291) brought Western Europe in greater contact with the East. The Italian States of Venice and Genoa had, at first, a successful trade with the East, *via* the ports of Egypt, Syria and Constantinople. After 1500, during which year, the Portuguese admiral Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India *via* the Cape of Good Hope, Portuguese fleets began trading with India. The Portuguese broke the monopoly of Genoa and Venice and successfully monopolized the trade with India till 1580, when Spain and Portugal were united together under Philip II, a bigoted Roman Catholic monarch, who sought uniformity of religion and tried to force

⁵ Nowroji was the first Parsee to go to England; the second was Maniär who went in 1781.

*The Advent of
the English in
India.*

his Roman Catholicism, here and there. His Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where the seeds of the Reformation were already sown, disliked his bigotry and revolted. The Dutch used to obtain Indian products from Portugal which, as said above, had a kind of monopoly in Indian trade. Philip, as a punishment for their revolt, stopped their intercourse with Lisbon. This stoppage deprived them from having Indian commodities. This state of affairs forced them to trade independently with the East. Their first four trade-ships, at first, went and traded with Java in 1595. In 1640, Portugal threw off the Spanish yoke and its new King John IV (Duke of Braganza), on coming to throne, tried to stand against the Dutch in their capture of Indian trade. But, by this time, the Dutch had established themselves strongly in the East.

The commercial successes of the Portuguese and the Dutch in the Eastern trade had opened the eyes of some English merchants of London. Later on, they drew the attention of the French.⁶ Robert Orme gives us a succinct and interesting account of the "Establishment of the English trade at Surat"⁷. The very first Englishman to land in India, though not for trade purposes, was Father Thomas Stevens or Stephens who landed at Goa in 1578⁸ in the company of a few Jesuits. He died in 1619. In 1581 Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to a small company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company. In 1583, the Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leedes and others by the overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Hormaz with a letter from

⁶ Voltaire, in his "Siècle de Louis XIV" criticises the tardiness of the French in scientific matters and in geographical discoveries and enterprises. He says: "Les Français n'eurent part ni aux grandes découvertes ni aux inventions admirables des autres nations. . . Ils faisaient des tournois, pendant que les Portugais et les Espagnols découvraient et conquéraient de nouveaux mondes à l'orient et à l'occident du monde connu." (Edition of 1878 of "Œuvres Complètes de Voltaire" p 158 p. 4 Chap. I Introduction), i.e. "The French took no part, either in the great discoveries or in the admirable inventions of other nations. . . They performed the tournaments when the Portuguese and the Spaniards discovered and conquered the new worlds in the east and in the west of the known world." Robert Grant in his "Sketch of the History of the East India Company" (1813) p. XXXVI draws our attention to this criticism of Voltaire.

⁷ Robert Orme's "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire" (1805), p. 319 *et seq.* ⁸ Smith gives the year as 1579 (Smith's Akbar, p. 296).

the Queen to Akbar⁹. They arrived at Akbar's court in 1585. Then came, in 1603, ¹⁰ Mildenhall, at the head of a commercial mission, *via* Aleppo and Persia. He announced himself as a messenger from Queen Elizabeth and got permission to trade. All of these commercial adventurers came in foreign vessels.

The first English vessel that came here was Hector with Capt. William Hawkins as Commander. It arrived at Suwalli (modern Sumari) in August 1608^{10a}. A ship, named Ascension, had left England one month before it, but it was delayed in the voyage, and, when it came in Indian waters, was wrecked at Gandevi about 30 miles south of Surat. Hawkins had a letter from King James. He arrived in Jahangir's Court at Agra in April 1609 and remained there till November 1611. Though well received at first, he was refused permission for a factory at Surat. In 1611, the English established a factory at Maslipatam. The Portuguese were powerful here at the time.

The Company had resolved to arrange for an embassy.

*First English
Embassy at the
Moghal Court.*

Sir Thomas Roe carried the first embassy from James I. He left England in March 1615, and arrived at Surat in September 1615. He was in India for 3 years and 5 months and left in 1619. Among the presents that he brought was an English coach ¹¹. Sir Thomas is said to have suggested, that wine would be a better present for the Moghal King and his Prince. He wrote: "Never were men more enamoured of that drinke as these two: they would more highly esteem them than all the jewels in Chepeside ¹²" Jahangir gave the necessary permission "to settle factories in any parts of the Mogul empire, specifying Bengal, Sundry, and Surat. ¹³"

⁹ *Vide* Smith's Akbar (1917), p. 227 *et seq.* ¹⁰ *Vide* Smith's Akbar, pp. 292-94. ^{10a} Hawkins' Voyages by C. R. Markham (1878) p. 388 *seq.*

¹¹ Jahangir, in his Memoirs (Rogers and Beveridge Vol. I, p. 340), speaks of driving in a Frank (firangi) carriage driven by four horses when he left Ajmer for the Deccan. That was on 10th November 1616. So, it seems that, that was the coach sent as a present by James I.

¹² Peter Auber's "Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company" (1826), p. 718. ¹³ *Ibid.*

The first English factory at Surat was founded in September 1612. Robert Orme¹⁴ gives us an interesting account of its formation under Capt. Best who came to Surat with two ships of the Company. The Portuguese did all they could to prevent the establishment of the Factory but they failed. The Surat merchants liked very much that the English may establish their factory there. One of them enthusiastically said: "Surat must burn all its ships, if friendship were not maintained with the English."¹⁵ On the favourable representations of the merchants "Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th (September 1612) and gave pledges, on which Capt. Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty."¹⁶ Orme adds: "The scope of these articles (of treaty) provided sufficiently for security of a *first* establishment. They were signed on the 21st of October (1622), when Captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the Company. . ."¹⁷ From this time forward the English trade regularly advanced here. Best went home, and, on his giving a glaring report of the Indian trade, the Directors of the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send an ambassador to the Mogal Court to counteract the influence of the Jesuit priests on behalf of Portugal. Jahangir did not like the Portuguese. So, a victory won by the English over the Portuguese on 29th January 1615¹⁸, at Swally, greatly pleased him, and he, in his Memoirs, especially mentions that victory—the victory over the Warza (Portuguese Viceroy)—as one of the three good news that had reached him in the month Bahman.¹⁹ It appears from Orme that, in 1678, the Company's broker at Surat was a Bania.²⁰

The English had some trade at Surat from the early part of the 17th century. It was in 1666, that the Madras establishment came to be equal to that of Surat where they paid a consolidated

English Trade at Surat.

¹⁴ Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogal Empire (1805), p. 327 *et seq.*

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 328. ¹⁶ *Ibid.* For the terms of the Treaty *vide Ibid.*, pp. 328-9.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 329. ¹⁸ Orme's Historical Fragments, p. 351. Danvers' Portuguese in India (1894) II, 170—71.

¹⁹ Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge I., p. 274.

²⁰ Orme's Historical Fragments (1805), p. 72.

duty of $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. on their goods. "In addition to this import duty, a poll tax called *jaziya* was imposed on non-Muslims from 2nd April 1679." The Christians protested but "though they are *ahl-i-kitāb* or believers in the Old Testament like the Muhammadans²¹", their protest was of no avail. But "the Moghal Government seems to have found it difficult to assess and levy the *jaziya* per head from the Europeans in the same manner as from the Hindus, and consequently it seems to have offered a compromise by turning the *jaziya* into an addition to the import duty on their goods, raising the latter (from $2\frac{1}{2}$ p.c.) to $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c."²². Aurangzeb's farman of 26th June 1667, directed that "the English trader there (at Surat) should pay only 2 p.c. *ad valorem* duty on all goods imported by them to that harbour."²³ This concession was granted on the recommendation of Ghiyas-ud-din Khan, the Governor of Surat, to the Wazir Jafar Khan. This was perhaps because the English had made a bold stand, as we will see later on, against Shivaji during his first sack of Surat in 1664. In 1679, the above reduced $\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. was re-imposed and in addition 1 p.c. was added, as said above, for *jaziya*; in all they had to pay $3\frac{1}{2}$ p.c. for import duties *ad valorem*.

By this time, the English had exasperated Aurangzeb. They had sacked Hugli in 1686 and seized it in 1687. Then, the Bombay fleet, as directed by Sir John Child, attacked Aurangzeb's fleet. So, he ordered everywhere their arrest, the seizure of their factories and prohibition of all trade with them. But the English being strong at sea, harassed Aurangzeb's pilgrim ships to Mecca and also other trade-ships. The stoppage of trade led to a diminution in Mogul revenue. At last, in February 1690, peace was made. The English gave Aurangzeb Rs. 1,50,000. Notwithstanding this peace, the English at Surat were harassed by the Mogul officers. So, the home authorities, wanted to make Bombay, which had come into their hands, "the Key of India" and Sir John Child, the then President, "left Surat for Bombay on 25th April 1687, in order to be beyond the reach of the Moghals. The imperial governor of Surat disliked this retreat

²¹ Sarkar's History of Aurangzib, Vol. V, *vide* p. 317 et seq.

²² *Ibid*, p. 319. ²³ *Ibid*, p. 320.

of the English to an independent position.”²⁴ A state of war ensued. Benjamin Harris and his assistant Samuel Annesley were confined in their house. There was fighting between the English and the Moghals on the Western Coast in 1688-89. Sir John Child, the President, with an English fleet captured a large number of Moghal ships. The above English officers were put in chains and kept prisoners for 16 months (December 1688 to April 1690).

At this time, the Siddee of Janjira, the Admiral of Aurangzeb on the Western coast, attacked Bombay at Aurangzeb's direction, in May 1689. Governor Child did not defend it well. So, it fell an easy prey in the hands of the Siddee, and the English had to shut themselves up in the Fort. Child sent G. Welden and Abraham Navarro to Aurangzeb on a mission for peace (10th December 1689). Aurangzeb granted a pardon on 25th December 1689. The *farman* of pardon and peace was ceremoniously received at Surat on 4th April 1690. The English officers were released and they paid Rs. 1,50,000 as fine. The English had suffered a good deal in prestige and their affairs for 1691-1692 and 1693 were bad. Early in 1694, Sir John Gayer came to India as the chief agent in Western India and Governor of Bombay. In May 1694, Annesley became the chief of the Surat factory. During the next six years, the European pirates were powerful in the Indian seas and injured the power of the English for trade on the Western coast. In 1695, Aurangzeb's own ship was plundered by an English pirate, Bridgmen *alias* Avery. The English were held responsible for this piracy and President Annesley and his assistants had to be confined. Aurangzeb, at first, thought of punishing strongly all the European factories—the Dutch, the French and the English, but, on second thought, he arranged with them for the further protection of the trade. On 6th January 1696, the English President Annesley undertook to supply an escort for his ships and he was set at liberty.

In 1697, an English pirate Kidd again brought the English into difficulties. Aurangzeb imposed a fine of Rs. 14 lakhs upon the factories of the three nations. In the end, these three nations divided their work and undertook to protect the Indian trade on the different parts of the Indian coast. About this time, on

²⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 336-337.

6th April 1699, the new Company, the English East India Company, was formed and Sir Nicholas Waite came to Surat, as its first President, and Sir William Norris came to India as an ambassador from the English King. In February 1701, Sir John Gayer was arrested and imprisoned by the Mogal Governor of Surat at the instigation of Sir Nicholas Waite, who, in order to undermine the influence and work of the old East India Company, whose representative Sir John Gayer was, misrepresented matters, and said, that the piracy in the Indian seas was the work of Sir John Gayer and his old Company. Sir John Gayer being made prisoner, Sir Nicholas Waite was appointed Governor of Bombay by the Home authorities. Sir John Gayer continued long in prison.

I will finish this account of the early English trade at Surat, with a brief account of the different East India Companies, formed, one after another. This account will enable us to be in a better position to determine the time of Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of two of them. (a) In 1589, some merchants submitted a memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a license of 3 ships to trade with India. The license was given in 1591 and Capt. Raymond started with three ships. This trade-expedition was followed in 1596 by another expedition. The merchant adventurers then thought of forming a regular association for trade. Queen Elizabeth, on being applied to granted, on 31st December 1600, a charter for the purpose. This association formed the London Company which was "the first establishment of an English East-India Company."²⁵ The Company was "to be managed by a governor and twenty-four Committees."²⁶ Licenses were also "issued to individuals for private trade."²⁷ "The Company formed, by degrees, factories in India, and ultimately reached such a degree of prosperity, that various attempts were made to induce the Crown and Parliament to revoke their charter, with no other object than that the petitioners themselves

²⁵ *An Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company*, by Peter Auber (1826), p. 718.

²⁶ The members were then designated as Committees (Peter Auber's *East India Company* (1824), p. 195). The *Analysis of the Constitution of the East India Company* by Peter Auber, 1826, p. ix.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. x.

should be elected into an exclusive Company." But this attempt failed. In 1693, the Company failed to pay "a duty of five per cent. on their capital stock" imposed upon them in the time of William and Mary. So, their charter was revoked. A new charter was given with the condition that "it should be determinable on three years' notice."²⁸

(b) In 1698, Great Britain, having had wars with foreign powers, was obliged to borrow money. This led to the formation of another Company called "English East India Company," chiefly formed of those who helped the Government by subscribing money for the loan for the war. The Act, permitting the formation of this new Company, provided, that the Government had the right of closing both the Companies—the new and the old—in 1711. It is said, that the Tories favoured the Old Company and the Whigs, the New Company.²⁹ As was the custom in those early times in case of private bills, that the parties must, with the permission of the Parliament, wait upon His Majesty to pray for his approval, the Governor and Committees waited upon the King at Kensington on 8th March 1699. The King sanctioned the formation of the Company, but "recommended an union of the two companies to their serious consideration, as it was his opinion that it would be most for the interest of the Indian trade."³⁰

(c) The King's advice began taking shape in July 1702 and, "after much preliminary discussion, an Indenture Tripartite (called the Charter of Union) was passed under the great seal."³¹ The movement took shape in 1708 and both the companies were amalgamated under the name of "The United Company of Merchants of England trading with the East Indies," its brief name being, "The United East India Company." The United Company had 24 managers, known as directors, twelve to be selected from each Company. The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709 and the first 24 Directors were elected on 15th April 1709.

This United Company lent to Government without interest £1,200,000, in lieu of the right of exclusive trade for 15 years. In

²⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁹ Robert Grant's *Sketch of the History of the East India Company*, 1813, p. xxxvi. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 196. ³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 197.

1722, the period of the exclusive right was extended upto 1733. In 1730, this right was further extended upto 1766, for which extended exclusive right, they gave to Government £200,000 and consented to charge a reduced rate of interest, viz., 4 per cent. on the present and the past debts amounting to £3,200,000. The rate for the past debt was 8 per cent.³² In 1744, the period of the exclusive right was again extended by 14 years, i.e., upto (1766+14=) 1780, and they lent to Government a further sum of £1,000,000 at 3 per cent. In 1750, the United Company agreed to a reduction from 4 to 3 per cent. of the former loan of £3,200,000. The total sum, known as the East India annuities, amounted to £4,200,000, and the annual amount of interest at 3 per cent., which the Company received, came to £126,000. In 1781, the exclusive right of trading was continued upto 1794. In 1793, the exclusive right of trade with China and in Tea was continued to the Company till 1813, but the exclusive right for trade with India was cancelled and the right was opened to the public.

*A Few Dates
about the Advent
of Europeans,
and among them,
of the English to
India.*

I give below a *list* of the principal events in connection with the advent of the English in India.

The Crusades which brought Europe into some close contact with the East	1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India <i>via</i> Cape of Good Hope	1500
The first Englishman (Father Thomas Stevens) to land in India, though not as a merchant, but to work with the Jesuits at Goa	1578
The Portuguese had a monopoly of trade with India upto	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the Levante or the Turkey Company	1581
The advent, <i>via</i> overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Ormaz, of the first band of English merchants—Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others—as merchants of the	

Turkey Company, with a letter from Queen Elizabeth to Emperor Akbar	1583
A few English Merchants submitted a Memorial to Queen Elizabeth for a License for 3 ships to trade with India	1589
The License was granted and Captain Raymond started with 3 ships. This was the first trade Expedition.	1591
The Dutch began trading with the East	1595
Another (second) English Trade Expedition	1596
Few English Merchant-adventurers applied to Elizabeth for a Charter to form a Trade Association. This led to the foundation of the <i>first</i> establishment under the name of the <i>London</i> East India Company .. 31st Dec.	1600
Arrival of Middenhall, who came by land route, as an authorised messenger from Queen Elizabeth, and who was given permission to trade	1603
The arrival of the very first English vessel, Hector, under Commander Hawkins at Suwalli (Sumari) near Surat	1608
The arrival at Jahangir's Court of Hawkins, who came with King James' letter	1609
Hawkin's stay at Jahangir's Court. He was refused permission for a factory at Surat	1611
The English first established a Factory at Masalipatam.	1611
The English settled at Surat for the first time after the naval defeat, at the hands of Captain Best, of the Portuguese, who had become very powerful at the Mogal Court. This was the foundation of the first English <i>kothi</i> or Factory at Surat. The <i>firman</i> of trade was given by Jahangir to Edwards	1612
Two English Factors went with King James' letter to Jahangir, but were not successful	1613-1614
On good reports from Captain Best about the trade with India, the East India Company raised a better fleet and arranged to send Sir Thomas Roe, as ambassador. He landed at Surat .. September	1615

An unsuccessful attempt of the Dutch to found a Factory at Surat	1616
The first Dutch Factory founded at Surat by Peter van den Bracke, who became its first President ³³ ..	1620
The first Dutch Factory founded at Agra with Francisco Palsaert at its head	1621
Marriage Treaty of Charles II and Catherine.. 23rd June	1661
The English took possession of Bombay from the hands of the Portuguese	1665
The Company's Broker at Surat was a Bania ³⁴ ..	1678
The first London East India Company, having failed to pay "a duty of 5 per cent. on their capital stock, its Charter was revoked in the time of William and Mary." A new Charter was given, on condition, that it may be revoked in 3 months' notice	1693
The formation of the 2nd Company, the English East India Company, the Government reserving the right of closing both the Companies in 1711	1698
The founders of the New Company waited, according to custom, upon the King, when the King advised that both the Companies may be united	1699
The arrival of Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New Company at Surat	1699
The movement to unite the two Companies according to the King's advice, began	1702
The movement finally took shape and both the Companies were united under the name of "The United East India Company"	1708
The first Court of the United Company was held on 25th March 1709, and the first 24 Directors elected on 15th April 1709. The right of Exclusive trade was given for 15 years upto 1724	1709

³³ "The Empire of the Great Mogal" (De Imperio Magni Mogolia), by De Laet, translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Bannerjee (1928), Introduction, p. IV. This work is spoken of as "a complete Gazetteer of Jahangir's India," (*Ibid*, p. vi.)

³⁴ Orme's Historical Fragments (1805), p. 72.

The Period of Exclusive trade extended upto 1733	..	1722
This Period of Exclusive trade again extended upto 1766	.. .. .	1730
This Period of Exclusive trade again increased by 14 years, i.e., upto (1766+14=) 1780	.. .. .	1744
The United Company had lent money to British Government. The interest over these Loans, which amounted to £3,200,000, was reduced from 4 per cent. to 3 per cent. The total sum known as " The East India Annuities " amounted to £4,200,000	.. .. .	1750
The Period of Exclusive trade for the East India Company was further increased upto 1794	.. .. .	1781
The right of Exclusive trade with India was cancelled (though that with China and that of the tea trade was continued upto 1813)	.. .. .	1793

IV.

The Persian Poem, Qisseh-i-Rustam Manock, i.e., The Life Story or History of Rustam Manock.

Now we come to the second object of our paper, viz., to give an account of the life of Rustam Manock.

For the account of the life of Rustam Manock, we have, besides some stray materials found here and there, a
The Quissoeh. Persian poem, entitled Quissch-i-Rustam Manock
 (قصه رستم مانک) i.e., the History or Life-story of

Rustam Manock, written by Mobed Jamshed Kaikobad. It speaks of several historical events relating to Emperor Aurangzeb, Shivaji and the English and Portuguese factories; so, it is a contemporary historical document, which, though not of unusually great historical value, is important as a document presenting a Parsee view of the events. I will give, the Qisseh in Persian. I will give, later on, a full summary of its contents and will then examine, how far its account of the historical events is supported by historical works. I will first speak here of the Author and the Date of the Qisseh.

The author of the Qisseh is Jamshed Kaikobad. Unfortunately, Dastur Minochehr, the editor of the poem, of whom I will speak a little later on, while preparing a correct text of it, seems to have done away with its original colophon or concluding lines, wherein the author must have given, in his own words, his name, residence, date, etc. However, it is well, that Minochehr has given, in his own words, the author's name, place and date. From this, we learn that the author of the Qisseh lived at Surat, and that he wrote this Qisseh in 1080 Yazdazardi (Samanin alif. c. 590)³⁵ i.e., 1711 A.C. Jamshed Kaikobad, was, as he himself says in the Qisseh³⁶, the tutor of Nowrozji, Rustam Manock's third son, who, as we will see later on, was the first Parsee to go to London in 1723 and whose name is often referred to in the above-mentioned East India Company's documents. We see, from the date given above, that Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his account of the life of Rustam Manock, 10 years before the death of Rustam who died in 1721 A.C.

No original manuscript in the hand of the author has come down to us. There may be, somewhere, a copy or copies of the author's own original, but I have not come across any. Several copies existed in 1845. The story of the text, as I give it, is as follows: In 1214 A.Y., i.e., 1845 A.C., Manockji Merwanji Seth, the sixth in descent from Rustam Manock, saw and possessed several copies of the original Qisseh as written by the author Jamshed Kaikobad. He requested Ervad (afterwards Dastur) Minochehr Edalji Jamaspasa,³⁷ to prepare a correct text out of the several copies then existing. Minochehr did so. In the text prepared by him, Minochehr says, that there were several copies of the Qisseh but they were found incorrect from the point

³⁵ C. in this paper means couplet. بسال ثمانین الف یزد جرد
نموده بدش ختم آن را و مرد

³⁶ c. 306. از آن است نوروز هادشت من
i.e., of those (three sons) Nowroz is my pupil.

³⁷ Born 1808. Came to Dasturship on 22nd February 1861 on the death of his father. Died within 8 months on 20th October 1861.

of view of the meter (bi-kāideh, c. 59); that that was due to ignorant copyists (ناراقان نقل سازندگان c. 592); that therefore, Manockji Merwanji, the Seth of the time, the head of the *anjuman* (community) of Mobads, showed these copies to several learned men who all declared them to be faulty (c. 593); that he then entrusted the work to him (Minochehr, the son of Dastur Edalji, surnamed Jamaspasana): that Manockji Seth said to him, "You prepare another Qisseh according to the old one;" and that therefore this Qisseh is one based upon the old one. Minochehr gives the year of his own work as the year *ghariji*³⁸ (غاريجی), i.e., 1214 Yazdazardi (c. 610), i.e., 1845 A.C.

The revised and corrected text so prepared by Minochehr, long remained unpublished. Then, the late Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, who was the eighth in descent from Rustām Manock and was the elder brother of the above Kavasji Seth, published it in 1900, in a book which was printed for private circulation and which was entitled, શેઠ ખાનદાનની વંશાવલી તથા ટુક એહવાલ જુનીઆલોજીકલ ટ્રી તથા ચીત્રો સાથે (i.e., the descending line of the Seth family and a brief account with a genealogical tree and photographs). In very few copies of this publication, he has published a lithographed text, in 36 pages, of the Qisseh, as prepared by Minochehr. I am told that only three copies of the text were published. The text, which I give at the end of my paper, is a copy prepared from that publication, with my collation here and there from other copies.

The Text, as prepared by Minochehr, has been transliterated and translated into Gujarati. The transliterator and translator does not give his name, but, it appears from what is stated at the end of the lithographed copy published by Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, that the transliteration and translation were also the work of the above mentioned Minochehr. I produce for inspection a well-written copy of it, kindly presented to me some years ago, by a member of the Jassawala family, bearing, in the beginning and at the end, a stamped inscription saying "Presented by the late Mr. Rustomji Jamsetjee Jassawala's family 1905." This copy bears the title અખે

³⁸ Gharij means wine. Ghariji is a cup-bearer. (Steingass) This chronogram comes to 1214, according to the *abjad* method:

$$\text{ઁ} = 1000 + \text{।} = 1 + \text{) } = 200 + \text{ج} = 3 + \text{ع} = 10 = 1214.$$

શ્રીરસો શેઠ રસ્તમ માણેકનો મનોચહેરજી દસ્તુર એદલજીના બનાવેલો, i.e., this Qisseh of Seth Rustam Manock prepared by Manochehrji Dastur Edalji. From this Gujarati transliterated copy, a Persian text has been reproduced by Dastur Erachji Sohrabji Meherji Rana. The original of it exists in the Dastur Meherji Rana Library. I am thankful to the authorities of the library for lending it to me to take a copy³⁹. Dastur Erachji says in his Ms., that he has rendered the text into Persian from a Manuscript of the text written in Gujarati characters, belonging to Seth Kaikhosru Rustamji⁴⁰. He says :

و از قصه که این نقل کردم آن اصل قصه در گجراتی با
معنی نوشته نزدیکست کیخسرو رستم جی بود از آن روی در فارسی
نقل کردم -

At the end of the lithographed copy, as given in the book published by Mr. Jalbhoy Merwanji Seth, there is a statement, that the text and its version (ma'ani), as prepared at the desire of Seth Manockji Merwanji, were examined and approved by Munshi Dosabhoy Sohrabji. This statement is followed by a certificate in Gujarati, dated 17th November 1845, and signed by Dosabhoy Sohrabji Munshi, saying that the verses and Gujarati translation are correct.

As to the Qisseh itself, as it has come down to us, and as published in the lithographed text in the above mentioned book of Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, it contains in all, 610 couplets. The first 51 couplets are something like a Preface or Introduction, not wholly from the pen of Minochehr. Similarly, the last 23 couplets in the postscript are also from the pen of Dastur Minochehr. He announces the name of the author as Jamshed (c. 45). He says to himself : " Make new (i.e., bring into public notice afresh) what is said by Jamshed. Adorn the old bride with ornaments."

³⁹ I am thankful to Mr. Furdunji Manockji Pavri, B.A., for kindly making a copy of it for me some years ago.

⁴⁰ On my inquiring from Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoy Seth, I am kindly informed that this gentleman traced his descent from Rustam Manock as follows : Rustam Manock—Bomanji—Khurshedji—Merwanji—Rustomji—Kaikhosru.

V.

Summary of the Qisseh.

I propose examining the several historical events mentioned in the *Qisseh* in the order in which they are narrated in the *Qisseh*. So, I will first give here a brief summary of the *Qisseh*, in which the marginal headings refer to the different headings as given in the *Qisseh*. For guiding the reader, I occasionally give reference to the *Qisseh* by giving its couplet, abbreviated as 'C'.

The *Qisseh* begins without any special heading. The first 51 couplets form an Introduction. Of these, *Introduction.* the first 29 couplets are in praise and prayer of God. They seem to be the composition of the author Jamshed or an adaptation from his verses. In those times, all such writings began with praise of God; so, Jamshed's poem cannot be an exception. These 29 couplets say, that God is the maker of nine celestial orbs (huqqa, c. 5), one under another (tutuq)⁴¹, which are bedecked with stars, some of which are moving⁴². The terrestrial globe (muhra-i-khāk) was suspended (mu'allāq) over waters and the creation was made out of the four elements⁴³. From the 30th to the 44th couplet, Dastur Minochehr, the revisor, asks for God's blessings upon his work, upon the soul of the author Jamshed Kaikobad who composed the poem (c. 32) and then upon himself. Then he asks himself (c. 45) to look sharp in his work. The story proper of the *Qisseh* begins from couplet 52.

Rustam was the son of Manock. He was descended from Mobads (c. 54) and was an inhabitant of Surat. *Praise and* He was a luminary (saraj) among Zoroastrians. *Charity of* He was benevolent and charitable like Hātim *Rustam.* (c. 56). Every year, he supplied to the poor food and clothing (c. 68). He also supported the religion of God (din-i-Khudā, i.e., Zoroastrianism, c. 72). His face was brilliant like that of Jamshed. In dignity, he was like Kaikhosru (c. 74.) He was virtuous like Faridun and illustrious like Tahmuras (c. 75). In courage he was like Rustam, the son of Zal, the ruler of Kabul

⁴¹ Tutuq, curtain, coats of an onion; sky.

⁴² "Harakat azān chandrā bar guzašt".

⁴³ آتش و آب و باد و خاک "the (four) opposites, i.e., the elements" (Steingass).

and Zabul (cc. 76-78). What Rustam was to Iran in those times, he (Rustam Manok) was to all at this time (c. 79). He was the leader of Mobads and Behdins (*i.e.*, priests and laymen, c. 81). Through him, our (Parsee) people commanded respect among other communities. There were kings from the time of Kayômars upto Yazdjard, but they all are dead ; but no, they are living through him (c. 85). He, one of their descendants, has pleased them in heaven by his good deeds (c. 86). He is like a king (Shah) in the country of India (c. 87). The author then prays for and blesses Rustam Manock (cc. 87-108). One of his blessings is that God may grant, that he may live as long, as the Sun, Moon and Stars shine in the sky (c. 91).⁴⁴ Then he prays that all his descendants (*za farz-and-i-farzand*) may always be joyful. From couplet 108 begins the narration of the events of Rustam Manock's life.

The first event described is the tax of Aurangzeb's
(1) *Relieving Parsees from the burden of the Jaziya.* Jaziyeh. It is described under the following head:⁴⁵

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکم در زمان شاه اورنگ
زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود و از آن جزیه پارسیانرا
مذکور سیت رهناید

i.e. This, in the description of Seth Rustam Manock, that in the time of King Aurangzeb, there was the tax of jaziyeh (capitation tax) imposed upon Parsees. The above Seth got the Parsees relieved from that capitation tax.

Here again, in the commencement of this narration of the jaziyeh tax, Minochehr has added a line of his own, stating that he said what followed from what was said by Jamshed (ز جم گفتهايش). The Qisseh thus speaks of the Jaziyeh : In the reign of Sultan Aurangzeb, there was the fearful (*bâ nahib*⁴⁶) tax

⁴⁴ The maximum age prayed for in the Ashirvâd or marriage-blessings is that of 150 years. In some places, we have a blessing for a life of over one thousand years (*Hazâr sâl der bedâr*). There, the signification is that of the continuity of a long line of progeny. Here also the signification seems to be the same, because in the next couplets, he prays for continuity of joy among children and grandchildren.

⁴⁵ I give the heading from Dastur Erachji's Ms. wherein it is clear.

⁴⁶ *Nahib* also means "plundering, a spoiler" (*Steingass*).

of *jaziyeh* on Zoroastrians. The poor, the orphans and others suffered from its oppression. They went to Rustam and prayed to be relieved from its burden. They said that the incidence of the *Jaziyeh* weighed heavily and brought distress to them and their children. They were harmed and oppressed in its collection. They requested him to relieve them from this tax. Rustam complied with their request and went to the great Diwan. He gave him a certain large sum annually and took the responsibility of annual payment (*zummeh* ذمم) of the tax over himself (c. 122). They all blessed Rustam for this generosity.

Relieving the poor of other communities from the burden of Jaziyeh. c. 134 seq.

The next subject is that of Rustam relieving the poor of other communities also from the burden of the *Jaziyeh*⁴⁷. The author says as follows on the subject:—When this act of generosity of Rustam Manock was generally known, all praised him. There were many poor of other communities (*qaom-i-digar*, c. 136) who were imprisoned for the non-payment of the *Jaziyeh*. Their wives and children went to Rustam Manock and said that their husbands and fathers were imprisoned, because they were very poor and could not pay the tax (cc. 140-41)

که ما را نبوده توان جزیه داد
از آن باب سختی بما برکشاد
که والد و هم شوهران مرا
گرفتند در قید بس با جفا

They added, that tax-collectors (*muhasal*, c. 142) were appointed to collect *Jaziyeh* from them, i.e. (women and

⁴⁷ The subject is headed thus in Dastur Erachji's Ms. :

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکم چندین مردمان
از قوم جد دینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده بودند
اورشانرا نیز مدکر سیت از بند رها نیده

i.e. This (subject) is in the matter of the description (or praise) of Rustam Manock. Several persons from the community of another religion (*jud-dinān*) were arrested by the hands of the Governor. The above Seth released them also from prison.

children) also. Again, these tax-collectors speak in a vile tone (zabūn) with them. When Rustam heard these grievances, he had compassion upon them and he told Noshirwan,⁴⁸ who was his deputy (or assistant, nāib, c. 150), to go to the Diwan and pay the tax for those poor people and release them from imprisonment. Several thousands (of Rupees چندی هزار c. 154) were spent and the poor freed from the tax. The poor blessed Rustam Manock

که با پسران دولت ایزدا
با آباد دارد و زی تابقا

i. e., May God keep you and your children's wealth in plenty and may you live long.

Then the author, Jamshed, refers to a Persian book Sad-da: Nazam and says that, according to that book, one who helps the poor and relieves them from the Jaziyeh tax is blessed by God and his angels (cc. 162-65).

(2) *Shivaji's*
Sack of Surat,
c. 69 *et seq.*

The author then refers to the sack of Surat by Shivaji, and to Rustam Manock's kindness to help the poor during that time of distress. He speaks of this under the following heading :

ظلمانه دادن از طرف مردمان شهر رستم بوقت
شیو غنی⁽⁴⁹⁾

i. e., the giving of the oppressive tax (zulmāneh), on behalf of the people of the city, by Seth Rustam at the time of Shiveh Ghani.

⁴⁸ I cannot identify this Noshirwan. He seems to be the same Noshirwan who is referred to, later on, as receiving Rustam Manok as his guest at Naosari.

⁴⁹ Dastur Erachji's copy gives the heading as follows :

در باب اینکه هر گاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکر خود
در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوي آمده و زرتشتیان را بسیار عذیت
رسانیده بود و بر ایشان خراج ظلمانه نهاده بود در آن وقت
از طرف هم زرتشتیان سیت رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده
هم را از خراج ظلمانه رها نموده بود۔

The account in the *Qisseh*, of this sack of Surat, is, in brief, as follows: Once, there came upon the city (of Surat) Shiveh ghani like Ahriman. He arrested from all directions (as hostages for payment) women, men and children. He carried away also as booty silken cloth (قماش qumash) and gold and silver and household furniture (کالا) and jewellery. From such a confusion (gīr o dār گيرو دار)⁵⁰ there was a general flight (گریغ) in the city, in the villages and in the zillahs (ضلع). Again, he set fire here and there. Those who were taken prisoners sent a word to the city that, unless the fine of release (zulamaneh)⁵¹ was paid, there was no chance of release. The people went to Rustam Manock and said (c. 184 *et. seq.*): "We are distressed and helpless from the terror of Shiveh ghani. He has destroyed all our goods and property. He has imprisoned the males of our families and he beats them oppressively. He asks from every person spurious⁵² (or oppressively large) oppressive tax (zulmaneh). He asks from all ten thousand (deh alif) rupees. We are not in a position to give the oppressive fine, which he asks. He has come up like a Ahriman and become the enemy of the city and villages. He has an army of 50,000 soldiers and there are, at the head of the army, two persons as extorters (gir o dar, lit. those who say, seize and hold). One is Ahujiban (آهوجيبان) and the other Divyan (ديويان). He has become the enemy of the sect of Zoroastrians. These two persons have destroyed many villages by pillage. They have carried away from every house gold and jewellery and apparel and grain as pillage, and then they have set fire to the houses. They have killed several people and have tied the hands of some over their backs. We are some of those who have run away from him." Thus describing the distress, they requested Rustam Manock to help them. Rustam was grieved to hear this and he gave Rs. 10,000 for their release (c. 216) and also supplied food, money and clothing for them.

⁵⁰ Lit. "Seize and hold".

⁵¹ Zulmāneh seems to be a fine or ransom for the release of persons.

⁵² Na-khelaf, dastardly, wicked, spurious, villainous. What is meant is "oppressively large".

The author then narrates the following story of King Minochehr and Aghrérās. Afrasiāb (the Turanian King), *Shivaji and Afrasiāb, and Rustam Manock and Aghrérās.* at one time, winning a victory, killed Naodar, the Iranian king, and imprisoned his wise officers. He then ordered, that they also may be killed. Then, the victorious Aghrérās interfered and asked for their release from the King, saying that they were innocent. So, Afrasiāb countermanded his order of killing them and gave them in charge of Aghrérās. Aghrérās (privately) sent a messenger to Zāl-i-Sām that he may send Keshwād with an Iranian army to set free the Iranians from his prison. The Iranians came for their relief, and Aghrérās, under some excuse, absented himself from the palace and went to the court of Afrasiāb. Keshwād restored all the Iranians to liberty and carried them to Zābūl. Afrasiāb on coming to know the true state of affairs, killed Aghrérās.⁵³ Our author then names Firdousi and quotes some of his lines. He then adds, that he mentioned this episode to illustrate the good action of Rustam Manock. In this case, Rustam Manock was like the virtuous Aghrérās, and ghani Sivaji like the wicked Afrasiāb.

(3) *The Account of Rustam Manock's Charities.*

Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's charities, &c., under the following heading :

برای آسایش و آسانی مردمان و ادا کردن کارهای کرم
و فرضهای خویش

i.e., on (the subject of) the repose and comfort of men and on the performance of acts of charity, and one's own duty.⁵⁴

⁵³ This Agreras is the Agraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII, 131, Yt. IX, 22; Yt. XIX, 77). Vide for the above story and other particulars about this Agreras my "Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names," pp. 7-10.

⁵⁴ Dastur Erachji's text has a long heading which says: "In the matter of the work of bequests of charity" (auquaf pl. of waqf, like) the building of bridges by Seth Rustam on the banks of waters of rivers and on desolate (kharāb) places; laying out of gardens and buildings; and building of big wells everywhere for the repose and comfort of men and the performance of acts of righteousness and one's own duties."

Among the good works of Rustom Manock, mentioned under this heading, we find the following :—

1. He got some roads put in good order.
2. He got *pucca* chunam bridges built over water-courses.
3. He brought under cultivation and gardening, desolate unused (kharij) land.
4. He built great buildings with beautiful gardens with water-courses (Kāriz کاريز) ⁵⁵ and favāreh (فواره fountain c. 264).⁵⁶
5. He built a building with a surrounding garden for the charitable use (waqf) of Zoroastrians to be used by them for marriage and Jashan occasions ⁵⁷ (c.c. 272-74).
6. He built in the city and in the villages wells for ⁵⁸ pure (zalah) water.
7. He got built reservoirs (hauj) for water for the cattle.
8. He got performed in the Dar-i-Meher religious ceremonies like the Vendidad, Visparad, Yasht and Hamāst (c. 280), daily Darun in honour of the Ameshāspands and Asho Farohars, Herbad, Getikharid, Naojote, Zindeh ravān.⁵⁹
9. He helped the poor for the marriage of their children.
10. He helped the Dasturs and the Mobads, i.e., the clergy.

⁵⁵ The Gujarati translator translates karez by કારيز.

⁵⁶ It appears from a long description of these buildings that they were intended for his own self and not for charity.

⁵⁷ I think this is the place still known as the Panchayet ni wadi.

⁵⁸ *Vide* below for the inscription on one of such wells, at Hajira near Surat.

⁵⁹ *Vide* for these ceremonies, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees”.

We find in the above account of Rustam's good works, his work of changing desolate ground into good garden ground (cc. 260-270).⁶⁰ I think that Anquetil *Du Perron's* reference to *Rustam's Garden*. Du Perron, in the Discours Preliminaire of his Zend Avesta (p. 361) refers to this garden. While speaking of the burning ground of the Hindus, Anquetil says: "Cet endroit

⁶⁰ I recently made enquiries about the place of this garden from Mr. Manockshah C. Petigara, the Secretary of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat. In his letter, dated 30th July, in reply to my letter of 26th July 1929, he says: "રોહલ કારશીલ બરબોરલ વડીલને પુછીને તથા જગ્યા બંને બોઈ આવો ત્યાં રહેતા રખેવાલને પુછીને નીચે મુજબનો ખુલાશો લખો જણાવું છું :

‘રસ્તમબાગ કરીને એક જગ્યા અશ્વની કુમાર આગળ આવેલી છે જે સુરત રહેશનથી આશરે દોઢ બે માઈલ છે. એ જગ્યામાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાં સારાં ફુલો ઘાતાં હતાં તેમજ તરકારી થતી હતી. એ બાગના માલિકનું નામ રસ્તમ હતું અને તે સુરત રસ્તમપુરાના રહીસ હતા અને પારસીઓમાં પ્રખ્યાત હતા એટલે એ રસ્તમ તે રસ્તમ માનેકજી હોવા બોઈએ એમ ધારવામાં આવે છે. એ જગ્યા આસરે ૪૦ વીધાં છે અને તે એક વખત અરબુમ રોહ નવરોહ બમનલ વડીલની માલકી અને કબજામાં પણ હતી અને હાલમાં એ બાગની જમીન શ્વામી નારાયણ મંદીરના માહારાજ વડતાલની માદીના આચાર્ય શ્રીપત મસાદ બીહારીલાલ માહારાજના હસ્તકમાં છે. એ જમીનમાં હાલ ફુલપાન કે તરકારી જેવું કંચુ થતું નથી પરંતુ રૂ. ૪૫૦) વારસીક સાર મણોતે ખેતી કરતા માટે ખેડવા સાર અપાય છે જેમાં કપાસ જીવાર થાય છે અને એ જગ્યામાં અશ્વની કુમાર મહાદેવનું મંદીર પણ છે અને લોકો ઉજાણીએ અવાર નવાર એ જગ્યામાં આવે છે અને ખાસ કરી અખઈ નામનો તહેવાર જે દવાળી પછી નવમે દીવસે આવે છે તે દીને હજારો હોડીઓ નાહવા માટે તથા દર્શન અર્થે ત્યાં જાય છે. એ અશ્વની જગ્યાથી ફુલપાડા (આંકુ-એટોલનું પુલવાર) ની જગ્યા કે જ્યાં હોડીઓના મુડદાં બાળવામાં આવે છે તે આસરે બસે પમણાંથી દુર છે અને એ બંને જગ્યા અમરોલીના પુલની પુરવ દીશાએ બરોબર પુલની નલકમાં આવેલી છે. પુલની પાસે ફુલપાડા ને ત્યાંથી આસરે ૨૦૦ પગલાં દુર અશ્વની કુમાર છે: હાલ ત્યાં દોઢ ફૂરવા અર્થે જડું નથી મચકુર બાગમાં આગલા વખતમાં ઘણાંક બંગલાઓ હતા પણ હાલ કોઈ નથી.

મચકુર બાગના હાલના રખેવાલથી એમ માલમ પડે છે કે આગલા વખતમાં એ બાગ સરકારના કબજામાં પણ મચેલો અને સરકારે અરદેશર બહાદુરને તેની આરો નોકરીના બદલામાં ભેટ આપેલી અને શ્વામી નારાયણ એ અરદેસર બહાદુર પર પ્રસન્ન થયાથી તેમને પીતાનો મુગટ, જેને “પાશ” કહે છે તે અરદેશરને ભેટ આપ્યો હતો કે જેના ઘાટ કાઠીઆવાડી ફ્રીશ પાશકાનો છે અને તે મુગટ હાલ પણ એ અરદેશર બહાદુરનાં કુટુંબમાં મેજુદ છે.’

I beg to thank Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, and his Secretary Mr. Manocksha Petigara for all the information they have given me in reply to my inquiries about Rustam Manock. I had the pleasure of visiting Surat, as Mr. Kavasji's guest, in November 1928, when I had the pleasure of visiting several places of Surat connected with the name of Rustam Manock, and I take this opportunity to thank him for all his kindness in helping me in my inquiries.

se nomme Poulpara ; il est sur le bord du Tapti, au-dessous du Jardin du Parse Roustoum, célèbre par les belles fleurs qu'il produit, et où les Habitants de Surate, Naturels et Etrangers, vont souvent prendre le plaisir de la promenade." *i.e.*, This place is called Poulpara ; it is on the bank of the Tapti, below the garden of Parsi Roustam, known for the beautiful flowers which it produces and where the inhabitants of Surat—the Natives and Foreigners—go often to take promenade."

4) *Rustam and his Three Sons.*

Then follow some verses in praise of Rustam and his three sons, under the following heading (c. 298). در اولاد سیت رستم گوید ⁶¹

i.e. This is what is said about the descendants of Rustam.

Rustam Manock had three good sons. One was Framarz, the second Bahman, and the third Naoroz. Of these three, Naoroz is my pupil (*ه‌اوش‌ت*)⁶² and he is, like his father, handsome, good-natured and kind-hearted. May these sons be all auspicious to Rustam Manock and may there be many (*farā*) children (*nūrdidān*) in his house (*khané*).⁶³ He (Rustam Manock) has a virtuous, pious, handsome wife named Ratanbai. Rustam is fortunate in having such a wife (*zauja*) and such children. Then, the author Jamshed blesses Rustam Manock with the mention of the following past great worthies of ancient Iran, wishing, that he may be endowed with all their virtues ⁶⁴:

Gaiyomard¹

Tehmuras³

Hoshang²

Jamshed⁴

⁶¹ Dastur Erachji's heading runs thus : در وصف سیت رستم مانگ
وسه فرزنداناش را بیان کرده است

⁶² Avesta *hāvishta*, a disciple.

⁶³ *i.e.*, May the family be blessed with grandchildren. *Nūr-dideh*, "beloved child" (Steingass. نور).

⁶⁴ *Vide*, for these personages, my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names (1892). (1) p. 4 (Gaya Maretan). (2) *Ibid*, p. 203. (3) *Ibid*, p. 93. (4) *Ibid*, p. 153.

Āfridun (Faridun) ⁵	Ādarbād Mārasfand ¹⁹
Minochehr ⁶	Jāmāsp (Hakim) ²⁰
Kaikobād ⁷	Tus ²¹
Kāus ⁸	Zawar (Zahvāreh) ²²
Siāvakhsh ⁹	Zarir ²³
Kai Khusrau ¹⁰	Rustam ²⁴
Gushtāsp, son of Lonrāsp ¹¹	Zāl ²⁵
Isfandiār ¹²	Kersāsp (son of) Asrat ²⁶
Bahman ¹³	Milād ²⁷
Ardashir (Bābakān) ¹⁴	Giv
Naoshirwān ¹⁵ (son of Kobad)	Framroz
Khusro Parviz ¹⁶	Godrez, the father of 70 sons
Yazdazard ¹⁷	Peshotan
Dastur Ardāi Virāf ¹⁸	

(5) *Rustam's first Interview with the English. His appointment as a broker. His finding a house for them.*

Then follows an account of Rustam Manock's contact with the English factory and of his being appointed its broker, under the following heading:—

در کیفیت ازگریز که در ملک هندوستان به شهر سورت آمد
و بار ملاقات شدن سیت رستم و دلال شدن او

i.e. In the matter of the English who came in the country of India to the city of Surat and the introduction of Seth Rustam with them and his becoming (their) broker ⁶⁵.

(⁵) *Ibid*, p. 99. (⁶) *Ibid*, p. 148. (⁷) *Ibid*, p. 53. (⁸) *Ibid*, p. 41. (⁹) *Ibid*, p. 196. (¹⁰) *Ibid*, p. 214. (¹¹) *Ibid*, p. 4. (¹²) *Ibid*, p. 194. (¹³) Also known as Ardashir Darāz-dast (long-handed), identified with Artaxerxes Longimanus. (¹⁴) Artaxerxes. (¹⁵) Chosroes I. (¹⁶) Chosroes II. (¹⁷) The last Sassanian King. (¹⁸) The Visionary of the Ardai Viraf nameh. (¹⁹) The Author of a Pahlavi Pand-nameh. (²⁰) The author of Jāmāspi. (²¹) *Ibid*, p. 27. (²²) Brother of Rustam. (²³) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names, p. 83. (²⁴) *Vide* Bundehehsh Chap. XXXI 4. (²⁵) Father of Rustam, *Vide* Shāh-nāme. (²⁶) *Vide* my Dictionary of Avestic Proper Names, p. 59. (²⁷) *Vide* the Shāh-nāme for this and the next four personages. *Vide* Justi's *Iranischen Namen buch* for some of these personages.

⁶⁵ Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:—

در باب اینکه ازگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش به هندوستان
در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانکرا بار ملاقات شد

I will give my translation of the author's account of his first interview with the English factor and of the first house of the English factory at Surat in details: "The English (Angréz) came to Surat from their country, in splendour, with money (ganj) and coins (dinār). They came to India in ships in great caravans (i.e., fleets) by the way of the great sea (c. 340). They came for noble or valuable (arj-mand) trade in the dress of great merchants. Seth Rustam visited them; the Kulah-push⁶⁶ (i.e., the hat-wearers i.e., the English), were much pleased with that visit. Within a short time, friendship (tavādād) increased between them, and, from union of colour (yak-rangi or one kind of pleasure or mode or manners), they became united in heart (yak-del) and familiar (sur-mand)⁶⁷. They then made him their broker (dalāl) and entrusted to him all their work. Then, he made enquiries (taffahus) for a palatial building for the residence (bāshandeh) of the English. After many inquiries, (he found) a great building, great in height, length and breadth, as pleasant as that of the palace of Jam (Jamshed), with a large garden like the place of paradise (Iram)⁶⁸, which was heart-ravishing and situated on the bank of the river and which was well ornamented and decorated. (It was so healthy that) if a sick man lived there, his malady soon disappeared; if one was tired of heat⁶⁹, he recovered by living there for a week; if one complaining of an eye-complaint, went there, he recovered by its excellent air. The auspiciousness (baraqqat) of the place was such, that if a merchant, or a poor man or any man lived there and carried on his commercial business or his other trade there, God gave him success unobserved (az ghaib) and he became fortunate.⁷⁰ It was a beautiful place and its climate (āb o havā) was full of

⁶⁶ In India, the first comers from Europe were generally known as the wearers of hats, their hats being quite distinct from the Indian turbans. Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, the first Baronet, in his *Kholāsseh-i Panchat*, similarly speaks of them as *topi-wālā*, i.e., those putting on *topies* or hats. He spoke of Indians, as *pāgdiwālās*, i.e., those who put on turbans. I remember, hearing in my younger days the word "*topi-wala*" colloquially used for Europeans.

⁶⁷ From *sur* banquet, pleasure, nuptials.

⁶⁸ Iram "the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shadād bin 'Ad, in emulation of the gardens of paradise" (Steingass).

⁶⁹ Perhaps what is meant is "suffered from prickly heat."

⁷⁰ This is an allusion to the belief that some houses are very lucky.

benefit (afādāt) and deserved praise (c. 355). This paradise-like place belonged to a merchant of Surat. His name Haji Hajaz Beg is known and famous in many places (c. 347). He (Rustam) got this large building given to the English at a high rent. He fixed its rent at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English decorated it according to their own contrivance and at their own expense. It was made, as it were, fit for royalty by many decorations. Then the secret-knowing God made the good fortune of the English very brilliant."

(b) *The Visit of Rustam Manock, in the company of the English Factor, to the Court of Aurangzeb.*

Then follows an account (c. 363) of the visit of Rustam Manock to the Court of Aurangzeb in the company of the British factor under the following heading⁷¹:

رفتن سیت رستم به ہم راه کلمه پوش انگریز بخدمت شاه
دلی و عرض کردن او از جانب کلمه پوش بحضرت پادشاه و
منشور یافتن از او

i.e., the going of Seth Rustam in the company of the habit wearing English to the Court (lit. service) of the King of Delhi and his requesting His Majesty on behalf of the English and obtaining a Royal mandate (manshūr) from him.

The account in brief runs as follows: In order to have an order (manshur c. 363), Rustam went with the Englishman (angrez) towards Delhi. At that time, the rule of Aurangzeb was like that of the brilliant sun (tābān khur c. 365). Rustam submitted the case of the English thus: "This man has come from the West (khāvar) to India for commerce, but the Amirs of Your Majesty's exalted court do not permit him (to live and trade) in the city. This Englishman is a good man and expects

⁷¹ Dastur Erachji gives the heading as follows:

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک برای کردن * کوتی انگریز
در شهر سورت نزدیک پادشاه دلی رفت و شاه را عرض کرد
و فرمان شاهی یافت انگریز را در شهر سورت ماندن جای داد
بیان آن

**boti, kothi, Factory.*

favour from the royal Court. He requests that, through the kindness of the King, they may give him a place where he can carry on his trade and have a store-house (*ambār-khāneh*)". Before submitting this request, Rustam had pleased the King and his courtiers with rich and rare offerings of presents (*nazraneh* ⁷² c. 380). Therefore his request was recommended for acceptance to the King by his courtiers. At that time, there was before the King, a Vazir named Asad Khān (c. 383). The King ordered him to give an order to the Englishman (*kolah-posh*). Asad Khān ordered a *dabir* (Secretary) to write out an order, that the Englishman may be allowed to have admittance in the city and to have a place for his house and factory and that his goods of merchandise were exempted from tax (*zakāt*). The King then signed this order with his seal. The King entrusted the order to his minister Asad Khān who gave it to a messenger (*chawos*) to be carried to the Englishman. The Englishman went in the direction of Surat and the Seth (Rustam Manock) went in another direction. He went out with his servants to see⁷³ different cities.

He visited Dandeh Rajpore (داندہ راجپور). Siddee Yāqoub (7) *Rustam's visit of Dandeh Rajpore, Damaun and Nao-sari and return to Surat.* (سیدی یعقوب) was the Governor (*hakim*) of the place. He welcomed and treated right hospitably Rustam Manock. When Rustam departed, he gave him a dress of honour (*khela'at*). From there, he went to Damaun where a Portuguese *pādiri*⁷⁴ (پادری)

⁷² This custom of *nazrāneh* played a prominent part in the administration of the Moghal Emperors. It brought in a large revenue to them. The gross revenue of Aurangzeb was said to be £90,000,000, i.e., about Rs. 130 crores. In this source of income, the *nazrāneh* played a prominent part. One can form an idea of this payment from what Tavernier paid. "Tavernier's present to Aurangzib on one single occasion amounted in value to 12,119 livres, or over £900, and this was a trifle compared with the vast sums presented by the nobles to His Majesty on his birthday and other occasions." (Aurangzib by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 126).

⁷³ *Tafarruj*, relaxation, enjoyment.

⁷⁴ *Padri* is a Portuguese word meaning "a Christian priest, a learned and good man" (Steingass). "The Portuguese word, *Padre*, was originally applied to Roman Priests only. It is now the name given all over India to priests, clergymen, or ministers of all denominations." (Travels of F. Bernier by A. Constable (1891) p. 323, n. 1).

فرنگی) was at the head (sar) of the administration. He entertained Rustam hospitably and entrusted to him all his work (hamé kār-i-khūd). He also gave him a dress of honour (sarpāv⁷⁵ c. 413).

From there, he went to Naosari, where the elders (buzorgān) went out to receive him (pazireh). He entered Naosari in the company of the Anjuman (c. 415). There, he was the guest of a relative named Noshirwan⁷⁶. He went to the Dar-i-Meher *urvisgah*⁷⁷ and had a sacred bath at the hands of a pious priest. He drank Nirangdin⁷⁸ and became pure internally and externally. He then went to holy Atash Behram,⁷⁹ and, after worshipping there, gave gifts (ashōdād)⁸⁰ to the Dasturs and Mobads and to the poor. He sent (arsāul namud) rich presents to the leading men (raisān) and received rich presents in return. From there, he returned to Surat where his people, the great and the small, went out of the city to welcome him. He then paid a visit to the Nawāb and opened before him the royal *farman* which the King had given in favour of the English. The Nawāb got it read by his Secretary (dabir), and, with all respects, gave it into the hands of the English. The English sent it (the *farmān*) to their Royal Court at home (Vilāyat, c. 427). The British King was pleased to see it and was pleased to learn that the hand of Rustam was in the transaction, and, as Rustam was the broker of the English, he was pleased to entrust work to him.

⁷⁵ The proper word is sar-a pa (from head to foot) “*Ser-apah*” or vesture from head to foot. (Bernier. Constable’s Translation, p. 118).

⁷⁶ The Gujarati translator of the transliterated Gujarati text gives the name as Noshērwan Meherji (નોશિરવાન મેહરજી)

⁷⁷ For Dar-i-Meher and Urvis-gah, *vide* my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsis” pp. 261-62 and 263-64.

⁷⁸ *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 255-57.

⁷⁹ *Vide Ibid.*, pp. 211-39. It was a custom, up to a few years ago, that those who went to pray before the sacred fire of the Atash Behram should have a bath before they went in. Rustam Manock had, instead of an ordinary bath, a higher or sacred bath, because he had a long travelling, when he could not observe all the required religious observances.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 407.

(8) Release of the ship of Osmān Chalibī from the hands of the Portuguese, c. 432 seq.

Then, we have an account of Osmān Chalibī under the following head :

در حکایت تجار عثمان چلیبی که بزرگ
کشتی او از سبب جنگ شدن در دریای فرنگیان
از دریای خود گرفته بودند

The account, in brief, runs as follows: There was a great well-known merchant at Surat, named Osmān Chalibī. Among his many ships (fulkhā), one ship (safineh) was very large and it was coming laden from Jeddah (جده). It was passing by an unbeaten path (hanjār) in the great sea. A ship of armour (armār)⁸¹, belonging to the Christians⁸² met it and both the ships fought. Cannon (top) shots were fired by both. Many Portuguese (Farang) were killed. But, at last, turning their ship⁸³, they (the Portuguese) captured the ship of Osmān and took all the men therein prisoners. They seized all goods and cash (naqdi) of 4 lakhs. They took the ship to the port of Damaun. Osmān who was a Turki by caste (jāt) heard this and became very sorry. Amānat Khan was then the Nawāb of Surat and Osmān lodged a complaint before him. The Nawāb summoned (ahzār) all the mansabdārs before him for consultation. The Nawāb sent for Rustam and said: "In the matter of ships, strict conditions have been made with the Portuguese through you.⁸⁴ Why have they violated the conditions and have captured the ship of Osmān? Rustam! the affair can be set right at your hands. The Portuguese know you and they are enamoured of your name. They accept your word; so, this affair will be set right by none but you. You get the ship of Osmān released." Rustam undertook the solution of the affair. He went home and took many valuable things to be presented to the Portuguese and started for Damaun. Many members of the

⁸¹ ازمار is not a Persian word. It is persianized from English "(ship of) armour".

⁸² Tarsā. Here, the Portuguese are meant. The word is sometimes applied to Parsees also in the sense of fire worshippers. (Steingass).

⁸³ gharab, "a kind of ship, grab".

⁸⁴ The Nawāb of Surat had, on behalf of the Mogal Emperors, entered into some definite terms with the Portuguese through Rustam Manock, because he (Rustam) was the broker of the Portuguese also.

Court of the Nawāb went with Rustam upto the gate of the city to bid him farewell. Rustam, at first went to Naosari and prayed before the Ātash Behrām, asking for God's blessings upon his errand. Pious Mobads also joined him in the prayer for his success. Rustam presented money to the Mobads. Then, he left for Damaun. When he arrived at the outskirts of the town, the chief (sālār), Captain Kerān (کران), came to know of his arrival. He sent a few great men to receive him. Going into Capt. Keran's court, he submitted his presents before him. Then, he went to the great Pādri (high priest) and gave him also some presents. Rustam then narrated the case of the capture of Osmān's ship and requested its release. He said: "Through me, you have given strong promises to the Moghals, that you would never capture Surat ships by force (jahd). To turn away from a promise is like turning away from one's religion (c. 493). The Christian (Portuguese) general replied: "The ship carried Turks (Turkiān) on board and those Turks showed impudence (shokhi) to our people: they came running upon our people and killed and wounded some of our people. Then it was that our people captured the ship, and making prisoners of the men on it, brought it here. Now, our superior named Vijril (ویجریل) is at Goa and I have informed him about this affair. If he gives permission, I will hand over to you the ship and its goods." Then Rustam asked his advice, as to what to do under the circumstances. Capt. Kerān suggested that Rustam may go immediately to Goa before the superior officer Vijril, and he offered to give him a letter of recommendation. Rustam started with his men for Goa, with that letter. He came to Vasai (وسئی Bassein). There was in Bassein one Captain Sarān (سران), who went outside the town to receive Rustam. Rustam explained to him what his mission was and said that he wanted to go to Goa with a letter of recommendation from Capt. Kerān. Rustam stayed at his (Capt. Sarān's) place for full one day (rozi tamām) and Capt. Sarān sent him raw (tām) articles of food ⁸⁵ and drink for him.

⁸⁵ اکل akal eating. The Portuguese officer sent to Rustam uncooked articles of food instead of cooked ones, because upto about 50 or 70 years ago the Parrees did not eat food cooked by non-Parrees.

Rustam left Bassein next morning when Capt. Sarān presented to him a suite of dress and also gave him a recommendatory letter. When Rustam reached Goa, Vijril came to know of the arrival⁸⁶ of their broker (dalāl, c. 528), and he sent some men of position to receive him. On appearing before him, Rustam gave him some valuable presents (c. 437). Then, Rustam narrated the object of his visit and gave him the above-mentioned two letters of recommendations. Vijril heard him patiently and asked him to have patience, and to stay there for some time. Rustam stayed there for nine months, passing his time in pleasure and prayer. During that period, he sent for, from Surat, other rich articles to be presented to some leading men at Goa. During his visit, he built in Goa a large fine two-storied (do mahlla) house with a garden round it. He then entertained Vijril with his chieftains in that house. The news of his arrival at Goa and of all the affairs reached the Portuguese King at Portugal (در پرنگال... شاه فرنگ, c. 560),⁸⁷ who was pleased to know of his arrival at Goa. In the end, Vijril returned to Rustam Manock the ship of Usman with all its contents. Rustam was also presented with a dress of honour. Rustam returned to Surat in the above ship of Osmān Chālibī. The Nawāb of Surat was much pleased with the success of Rustam's mission and gave him a dress of honour. Then Osman Chalibī also came to Rustam and gave him a dress of honour from himself.

The Kisseh proper ends with couplet 583. The rest of it (584-610) is a post-script from the pen of Dastur Minochehr, wherein he gives the name of the author as Jamshed Kaikobad and its date as 1080 A. Y. He adds that as the existing copies of the qisseh were incorrect, and as, here and there, the couplets were not in proper meter, owing to the fault of the copyists, at the desire of Manockji Merwanji Seth, he (Minochehr, son of Edalji surnamed Jāmāspāsā) revised it, re-writing it in some places. He gives the date of his revision, as said above, by the chronogram, *ghārjī* (غارجی) which gives the date as 1214 A. Y., i.e., 1845 A.C.

⁸⁶ It appears that Rustam went to Goa by land route.

⁸⁷ It seems that the matter of returning a big ship with its rich merchandise captured in a sea-skirmish was a matter of great importance. So, the Viceroy of Goa made inquiries and consulted the home authorities.

We learn from the above summary that this *kisseh*, in praise of Rustom Manock, contains accounts and references to the following events of historical importance :—

*Historical
Events treated
in the Kisseh.*

1. The *Jaziyeh* or poll-tax, imposed by Aurangzib, from the oppressive burden of which Rustam released his community as a body and also poor individuals of other communities.
2. The Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of which Rustam Manock relieved his people.
3. Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat and his accompanying a member of the factory to the Court of Aurangzib to pray for concessions.
4. Rustom Manock's Visit to Dandeh Rajpuri, on the coast about 40 miles from Bombay, which was long a seat of war between Shivaji and Aurangzib, a war in which the English were, at times, associated. His visit of Damaun and Naosari.
5. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get released a ship of Osmān Chalibī, which was captured by the Portuguese.

I will speak at some length about these events, but, before doing so, I will give an account of the life of Rustam Manock, as presented by the *Kisseh* and as gathered from other sources.

VI

(B) An Account of the Life of Rustom Manock.

Rustom Manock was born at Surat in 1635 A.C.⁸⁸ He was the founder of the well-known Bombay family, known among Parsees as the Seth Khandan or Seth

⁸⁸ I calculate this date of birth from the date of his death given by Bomanji B. Patel (*Parsee Prakash* (1878) Vol. I, p. 23). He says that he died on roz 17, mah 10, year 1090 A. Y., i.e., 30th July 1721, at the age of 86. Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, in his *Genealogy of the Seth family* (p. 9) makes the same statement. So if he died in 1721 A.C. at the age of 86, we get the year of his birth as (1721—86=) 1635. Ratanji Framji Wacha in his *Mumbai no bahar* (પૃ. ૪૨૭ નો ભાગ p. 427), published in 1874, gives the year of his death as 1088 A.Y., i.e., 1719 A. C. at the age of 83 and that of his birth as 1002 A. Y., i.e., 1633. But I accept the date given by Rustam's descendant, Mr. Jalbhoy.

family, a family some of whose members have founded several charities. It appears that the family surname, "Seth," has come into use since Rustom Manock's time. He is all along spoken of in the Qisseh as **سیت** Sett. The Qisseh speaks of him as the Luminary or Sun of the assemblies (*sarāj-i-majālis* **سراج مجالس** c. 57) of the Zoroastrians. What seems to have been meant is that he was their leader and presided at their communal meetings.

The word Sett (**سیت**) is Gujarati Sheth (**શેઠ**), Marathi *Signification* Sheth (**शेठ**). It has passed into Tamil as Seth of the word *Seth*. and into Telugu as Setti or Satti. It is an Indo-Iranian word. It is Avestaic *sraeshta*, Sanskrit *shrestha* (**श्रेष्ठ**)⁸⁹ and comes from a root, Avesta *Sri*, to be handsome (Sans. श्री beauty, prosperity). The Avestaic word *sraeshta* is the superlative degree of *sri* and literally means "the most beautiful." According to Wilson, in India, the word Seth has come to mean "a merchant, a banker, a trader, a chief merchant : often used in connection with the name as a respectful designation, as Jagat-seth. In some places, the Seth or Sethi is the head of the mercantile or trading body, exercising authority over them in matters of caste and business, and as their representative, with the government."⁹⁰ It seems that as a leader, not only of his own community, but of the Surat community in general, Rustam Manock came to be known as "Seth."⁹¹

The *qisseh* says, that he came down from a priestly stock (nazadash bud as tokhmeh Mobadān c. 54).
His Family Stock. Many priestly families of Naosari look to one Nairyosang Dhaval as their progenitor. This Nairyosang Dhaval lived in about the 12th century⁹²

⁸⁹ Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 475. ⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Mr. Sorabji Muncherji Desai, in his "પારસી વીષયો" p. 39, thus speaks on this subject; 'શેઠ માણિકલ આંદારીશાહના બાવા જમશેદજી ધણજી મરીબ હતા, પણ પાછળથી માણિકશાહને ત્યાં રસ્તમ નામનો ઢોઢો જન્મવા પછી નશીબ ખીલ્યું; અને સુરતની અનજીમનમાં ઢોઢા શેઠીયા થયા, તેમજ ઢોઢલ અમલદારોમાં અને અશ્વજી ઠાકીવાળાઓમાં લાગવમ વધવાથી તેણે સુરતના પારસીઓમાં વહીલા થવા પાડ્યા અને 'શેઠ'ને નામે ઓળખાતાં તેજ અટક પડી.'

⁹² Vide my Gujarati paper, entitled નેચેસંગ ધવલનો સતે (the Date of Neryosang Dhaval) in my Iranian Essays (ઇરાની વીષયો) part III, pp. 197-203). The late Dr. W. E. West, also gives the same date (Ibid pp. 192-200).

A.C., According to the genealogy given in Jalbhoy Seth's book, his descent from Nairyosang Dhaval runs down as follows : Neryosang (son of Dhaval)—Mobad—Khushmastā—Khujastā—Bahmanyār—Khorshed—Bahmanyār—Hom—Faridun—Chāndā—Rustam—Kāmdin—Faridun—Chāndānā—Jamshed—Manock⁹³—Rustam (Rustam Manock).⁹⁴

Though he and some of his near forefathers belonged to Surat, his ancestors belonged to Naosari. For this reason, he and his family took a great interest in the welfare of the priests of Naosari.⁹⁵

His great grand-father Chāndānā⁹⁶ was the first who went from Naosari to reside at Surat.⁹⁷ He was in very poor circumstances when he went to live at Surat. Chāndānā and his son continued to be poor, but the family began to see better times from the time of Manock, the father of Rustam.⁹⁸ The family had a number of relatives in Naosari, and we will see, later on, that Rustam Manock, when he went to Naosari stayed there, at the house of a relative Nusserwanji, of whom, a copy of the Gujarati transliteration

⁹³ Manock was the adopted son of Jamshed.

⁹⁴ *Vide* Mr. Jalbhoy Seth's Genealogy p. 2 and the geneological tree in the pocket of the book ; *Vide* Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur's ગામીરના ધોળાની ભગવંતી ૧૭૧૧૧૧૧ (1899) p. 189. *Vide* its rendering into English entitled "The Genealogy of the Naosari Priests" with Sir G. Birdwood's Introduction p. 189.

⁹⁵ His descendants, upto now, have been acknowledged as the Seth, i.e., the leaders or the heads of the priestly class of Naosari. Mr. Kavasji Jalbhoyi Seth, the present male heir of the Charities Trust founded by his ancestor Manockji Nowroji, when he went to Naosari for the first time, was welcomed by the Naosari priests with an address as their leader. Therein, they said : "Not only the Naosari priests, but priests of other towns also looked to Rustam Manock's direct male heirs as leaders." For example, we find that the Godawra Mobads, i.e., the Mobads of the suburbs, &c., of Surat, met on 25th May 1723, at Rustam's family house at Surat, to settle their ecclesiastical disputes, and his son Framjee attested the document of settlement (Parsee Prakash I, p. 850). Again, later on, the Sanjana priests appealed to his direct male heir, Mr. Manockji Nowrojee Seth, in the matter of the sacred fire which they removed from Naosari. The records of the Parsi Panchayat contain many references to the Seth Khāndān family having been looked at, as the leaders of the Mobads of Naosari.

⁹⁶ *Vide* above for the pedigree. ⁹⁷ મુંબઈનો બાહર (Mumbai nō Bahār) by Mr. Ruttonjee Framjee Wacha, p. 427. ⁹⁸ *Ibid*.

and translation speaks as Nusserwanji Meherji. As he was thus connected with the Naosari priests, we find Rustam Manock signing first, as a witness, an important communal document, dated 6th June 1685, relating to the Naosari Mobads and the Sanjana Mobads.⁹⁹ From his time forward, the principal heir of the Seth family, in direct descent from Rustam Manock, is acknowledged by the Parsee priests of Naosari as their head. It appears from the genealogical tables of the Naosari priests, that the family originally belonged to the Pāvri stock of families.¹⁰⁰ Rustam Manock's great great grandfather Faridun Kāmdin Rustam was Pāvdi by surname.¹⁰⁰

He became Navar, *i.e.*, passed through the ceremony of initiation into the class of priesthood, on roz 18, mah
His Navar- 2, Samvad 1731, *i.e.*, 1675 A.C.¹⁰¹ He was aged forty
hood. at the time. At present, this seems to be a very
 grown up age for entry into Nāvarhood.¹⁰² But, there have been
 occasionally cases of initiation into Nāvarhood at a grown up age.

In Samvant 1741 (*i.e.*, 1685 A.C.), the Naosari Bhagarsāth
 priests and the Sanjānā priests passed a mutually
Rustom Ma- signed document in the matter of their sacerdotal
nock, signatory rights and privileges.¹⁰³ Rustam Manock, signed
of a communal the document, as a witness, at the top, being the
document. leader of the Surat Parsees. The document is

⁹⁹ Parsi Prakash I, p. 19. *Vide* for this document, the Ms. note-book of Jamaspji Sorabji Dastur, in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, p. 31.

¹⁰⁰ *Vide* અધ્યેયન દોહાની ભગરસાથ વંશાવલી (The Genealogy of the Bhagarsath priests by Ervad Rustom Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana), p. 188. *Vide* the English Edition by Austa Naoroz Ervad M. Parvez, with Sir George Birdwood's Introduction (1899) pp. 188-189.

¹⁰¹ *Vide* Ervad Mahiar N. Kutar's Fahresht of Navars, published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, Vol. I p. 36. The entry runs as follows :—

શ વન ૧૭૩૧ રોજ ૧૮ મા. ૨ એ. રસ્તમ એ. અનેક પાલક જમશેદનો ચાંદલ ફરીનનો. એ. જમશેદ એ. ફરીદન ચાંદલ. Two sons of Rustam Manock—Framji and Nowroji—were not initiated, but Bahman, the 2nd son, was initiated in Samvat 1757 (1701 A.C.) (*Vide* the Faresht op. cit. p. 77). The entry runs thus : “ન. ૬૩૨ ૧૧. રોજ ૧૬મા. ૮ એ. બેમન એ. બેરામ એ. અનેક એ. ચાંદનાં એ. ફરફત ની. એ. બેરામ એ. અનેક એ. ચાંદનાં અનોશીરવાન ફ. રસ્તમ અનેક ચાંદનાં. Bahmanji was adopted by his uncle Behramji.

¹⁰² *Vide* for this ceremony of initiation, known as Navar, my “Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees” pp. 197-204.

¹⁰³ Dastur Jamaspji Sorabji's Ms. Notes in the Naosari Meherji Rana Library, Vol. I, p. 31. *Vide* Parsee Prakash I, pp. 18-19.

dated : “શંવત ૧૭૪૧ના વરષે શને એનરેદીન ૧૦૫૪ રોન દપમેહેર માહા આવાં ઉને દીને. It seems that, even after his death, his house at Surat was held to be, as it were, a rendezvous for parties who fought for their rights, to meet and settle disputes. We find, as said above, that the Godavra priests and laymen of villages round Surat met in his house on 25th May 1723 to settle their differences. The document of settlement was witnessed by his son Framjee ¹⁰⁴.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock built several wells for public use. When I had the pleasure of visiting Hajira, a sea health-resort near Surat in 1909 ¹⁰⁵ I saw there a well bearing the following inscription in Persian, showing that the well was built by Rustam Manock :

... ۸ مانکجي پارسى کرم و ایں چاه فی سبیل الله کندیدم و
هرکس که آب آنچاه بخورد ثواب ایں جناب باین غریب جایز
گردد تاریخ یزد جرد سنه ۱۰۰۰

Translation.—(1) ¹⁰⁶ Manockji Parsee, dug this ¹⁰⁷ and well in the way of God ¹⁰⁸. Whoever drinks the water of this place, the righteous reward (sawāb) of that person ¹⁰⁹ may be made receivable (ja'iz) to this humble self (*i.e.*, me). The date of the Yazdajardi year 10... ¹¹⁰.

The Gujarati inscription, which is clear, runs thus :
ધરમ એ અરથે અધાર રસ્તમજી માણેકજીએ કુઓ અધારો શંવત ૧૭૫૫ ના
શરાવણ સુદ ૩.

Translation.—Andhiaroo ¹¹¹ Rustamji Manockji got this well built out of charity. Samvat 1755, Shravan Sud 3.

¹⁰⁴ Parsee Prakash I, p. 850, col. 1.

¹⁰⁵ After writing the above I saw the well again in November 1928.

¹⁰⁶ The first words are not clearly legible on the stone, but they may be
من (ستم جي *i.e.*, “I Rustomji.” ¹⁰⁷ Doubtful.

¹⁰⁸ Fi sabilillah “ in the way of God, for the love of God, for sacred uses ” (Steingass).

¹⁰⁹ The word may be *junat*, *i.e.*, gatherer, plucker.

¹¹⁰ The last two figures are not legible. But, in the Hindu date in Gujarati, the year is clear as 1755 Shrawan Sud. 3. This gives the corresponding Parsee year as 1068 and the Christian year as 1699. *Vide* Jalbhoy Seth's book of Genealogy, p. 9. ¹¹¹ *i.e.*, one belonging to the priestly class.

As said by Mr. Edalji Burjorji Patel, in his "History of Surat", after the death of Aurangzeb in 1707¹¹² some of the Parsis of Naosari, were tired of the depredations of the Mahrattas in their town and of the rule of some of the officers ; so, a number of them, about one to two thousand, left Naosari with their families and went to live at Surat. It seems that it was at this time, that Rustom Manock founded a quarter for them to live in and it was named Rustampura after him. A Tower of Silence was built at Surat for these fugitive Parsees. They asked for land for a Tower from Nawab Momin Khan in 1715 or 1716. They met in 1722, to confer on this subject and began collecting subscription in 1723 ¹¹³.

Rustompura in Surat, founded by Rustam Manock.

The Qisseh refers to a building with a garden, given by Rustam Manock, for the charitable use of Zoroastrians (cc. 272-74). This building with a garden seems to be that which is now known as *Panchāt ni wādi* (પંચાતની વાડી) i.e., the garden-house of the Panchāyet ¹¹⁴, i.e. of the Zoroastrian public ¹¹⁵.

His Building referred to in the Qisseh, as given in charity.

It appears that Rustam had made such a name, that his name was commemorated in the prayer of Dhup Nirang, ¹¹⁶ recited after his times. There is an old manuscript of the Khordch Avesta, written in Persian character, in 1115 Yazdazardi (in Samvat 1802 1746 A.C.) i.e., about 183 years ago by Ervad

Rustam Manock's name commemorated in the Dhup Nirang.

¹¹² સુરતની તપાસીયા, ૧૮૪૦, પાના ૫૯.

¹¹³ B. B. Patel's Parsee Prakash, Vol. I, p. 25.

¹¹⁴ For the word "Panchayet," vide my "History of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay" Chap. III. Vide my article, in Edwardes' Gazetteer of Bombay, Vol. III, pp. 323-28.

¹¹⁵ After writing this paper, I had the pleasure of visiting this place in November 1928. Mr. Manockji Nowroji Seth, a grandson of Rustom Manock, had, when the family transferred itself to Bombay, built a similar wādi or garden in Bombay, which was long known as *Panchayet ni wadi*. Latterly, it came to be known as Manockji Seth's Wadi. The old name "Panchayet ni wadi" has left its mark in the name of the lane, which first led to it. The lane is still called Panchayet Lane (Vide Mr. S. T. Sheppard's "Bombay Place-names," p. 119).

¹¹⁶ Vide my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees", pp. 442-43 for this ceremony.

Jamshed Dastur Jamasp bin Asa.¹¹⁷ In this old Ms. of the Khordeh Avesta, we find, among the names, after that of Neryosang Dhaval, the undermentioned three names preceding those of some Behedins: Dastur Meherji Ervad Vacha, Ervad Rustam Osta Manock, Osta Naoroz Ervad Rustam.

The first of these three names is that of the well-known Dastur Meherji Rana of Naosari. The second is that of Rustom Manock, and the third that of his son Naoroji who had gone to Europe.¹¹⁸ (Folio 79a, ll. 2-3).

A Dutch record or Register-book refers to Rustam Manock. I am indebted for this information to Rev. Father Heras, Professor of History in the St. Xavier's College of Bombay. Finding a Parsee name in a Dutch record, he kindly drew my attention to it. He sent me at first his following translation of an extract from the book: "The Dutch Diary of Batavia mentions several letters received from India and, among them, a translation of a Benjaen letter written by Rustomjee Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Suratta." (Dagh Register 1681, p. 626).

¹¹⁷ Born 1732, died 1786. He was a learned priest of Naosari. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 68). He is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron (1771 A.C.) in his Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie I, p. 428. Anquetil, having heard of him as a great Dastur, made it a point to see him at Naosari on his way from the Island of Elephanta to Surat. *Vide* my "Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab", p. 52.

¹¹⁸ The above Ms. bears the date *roz Meher mah* Tir, year 1115 Yazdazardi. It gives the corresponding other years as 1159 Hijra, 1153 Fasli, 1802 Samvat, 1667 Salivan. *Vide* the colophon at the end, a few pages after the 128th folio. The Ms. belongs to Mobad Kavasji Pestanji Karkaria. The scribe gives his name as Mobad Jamshed bin Dastur Jamasp bin Asaji bin Fardunji Bhagarieh. It was written in Naosari for Mobad Naoroz bin Ratanji bin Manockji Dorabji. I beg to thank Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria for kindly procuring it for me for perusal. There is one peculiarity in the Dhup Nirang, given in this Ms. The *khshnuman* of Dhup Nirang as now recited is that of Sarosh, but here the scribe says: It may be any *khshnuman* (آنچه خشنومی باشد). Then, for the *khshnuman*, recited at the end of the Nirang, the *khshnuman* mentioned is that of Hormuzd Khudai (folio 81 b, l. 3.) هورمزد خدای ویسپ ساردا فروش بر ساد.

On making further inquiries from Father Heras in the matter of the extract, he thus wrote in his letter of 1st September 1927 about the title of the book: "The diary, mentioning the said Parsi, records the events of 1681. The title of the book is as follows: 'Dagh-Register gehouden int Casteel Batavia vout passereude daer ter plaetse als over geheel Nederlandts-India Anno 1681 van Dr. F. de Haan Batavia—'s Hague 1919.'" "That reads in English: 'Diary written in the Batavia Castle by travellers to the places and all over Dutch Indies in the year 1681; (edited) by Dr. F. de Haan.' The Note in Dutch itself runs thus:

".....mitsgaders noch een translaat Benjaanse missive, door den volmagt der drie Europiaanse natien in Suratta negotierende genaemt Rustemsie Zeraab."¹¹⁹

Translation.—A translation of a Benjian letter written by Rustemsie Zeraab, representative of the three European nations doing business in Surat.

Now, who is this Benjaen and what is the name Rustumsie Zeraab. I am indebted to Mr. Muncherji Pestanji Khareghat for kindly putting me in the right track by explaining the word and identifying the name. The word Benjaen is "Banian" which meant "Gujarati" and the word *zeraab*, after Rustamjee, is *shroff*. Now, Rustam as a broker was a shroff also. Jalbhoy Seth speaks of him as શ્રીફ i.e., shroff, and we know from subsequent events, that Rustam Manock had lent a large sum of money to the English factory. I beg to thank Father Heras for kindly drawing my attention to this book.

The new thing that we learn from this Dutch Register is that Rustam Manock was a broker, not of one or two but three nations. Though not explicitly mentioned, we infer, that the third nation, besides the two,—the Portuguese and the English—was the Dutch. From the date of the record, it appears then, that Rustam Manock was appointed a broker of the Dutch some time before 1681.

¹¹⁹ Dagh Register (1681), p. 626.

There are several writers who have referred to Rustam Manock and his sons. Two of them, Sir John Gayer,¹²⁰ the Agent of the Old Company, and Sir Nicholas Waite, are his contemporaries. The first was hostile to Rustam, well nigh from the beginning, because Sir N. Waite of the New Company had chosen him as his broker. Sir N. Waite, who, at first, was friendly, latterly became hostile and dismissed Rustam from his service, a step which he sought to justify.

Some European writers, referring to Rustam Manock or his sons.

We read the following, in a despatch of 24th April 1706, by Sir John Gayer and his Council of Surat, as given by Yule in his Diary of William Hedges :
 (a) *Sir John Gayer and his Council of Surat on Rustam Manock.*
 "Tho' the Union affairs be at such a full stop, yet by means of Rustams bribery and one of his assistants. . . . there hath been more goods stript off, of late for account of private Shipping, who undoubtedly must bear the charge one way or other, but by such bribery he keeps all the officers fast to his Interest, and perhaps is master of so much vanity as to think that he shall at last by such means bring the Company to truckle to him; he sticks at no cost, and whatsoever the Governor bids him do he ffrankly doth it."¹²¹ "One of his assistants" referred to here, seems to be his *nāib* or deputy, Nusserwanji, referred to in the Qisseh. We gather the following facts about Rustam from this extract :

1. Rustam was an influential man at this time (about A.C. 1706) and did business also with private shippers.

¹²⁰ In a Gujarati Ms. of the Pahlavi Jamaspi, written on 21st January 1840, in the list of events added to the prescribed events, we find Sir John Gayer, referred to as coming to Surat in Samvat 1750 (A.C. 1694). We read the following about his arrival ; "શ'જન ૧૭૫૦ માંહે રોજ ૫ માહા ૬મે શજન ગેર શીનર વેલાનપી આવેઆ છે એ દ'ન" (p. 301 of the Ms.) i.e., "In Samvat 1750, on rox 5 mah 6, Shajan Ger Shinor came from London." The Shajan Ger Shinor, mentioned here, is a corruption of Sir John Gayer. The word Shinor is corrupted from Signor (Seignior, Fr. Seigneur, Portug. Senhor, Lat. Senior) i.e. Sir. Vide my translation of the Pahlavi Jamaspi, Introduction, p. XLII.

¹²¹ The Diary of William Hedges, Esq., afterwards Sir William Hedges, (1681-87) illustrated by copious extracts from unpublished records by Col. Henry Yule, Vol. III (1889), p. CV., n3.

2. He had some influence also with the Governor (Nawab) of Surat.
3. Gayer, who had differences with him, attributes that influence to bribery.

We read the following in the Diary of William Hedges¹²² :—

(b) *Nicholas
Waite on Rustam
Manock.*

'Sir N. Waite writes in a letter to the Directors (of the English Company), dated 'Bombay Castle, 26th November 1707', in his usual confused and almost unintelligible style: "I have not received copie of your consultation Books from Messrs. Probey & Bonnell, as told you by the Albemarle. expected to enable my fully examining their last Books of two years jumbled together, am apt to believe may not now come upon the Publick news wrote from the other Coast that certain alterations that will be made on this side, the Suratt gentlemen writes are confirm'd by the great President's directions, Rustumjee being Broker to all their private ships, thereby setting up an opposite Interest to the United Trade, the prejudice of which the Managers may read in our Consultations was wrote the Governor and Councill of Madrass, and this year they appointed the Old Company's Broker Venwallidass with Rustomjee to be their Brokers." We learn the following facts about Rustam Manock from this letter, by Sir N. Waite, of 26th November 1707 :—

1. By this time, his relations with Sir N. Waite were strained.
2. Besides being broker to the European Companies, he was also the broker of the owners of private ships and this connection was taken by Sir N. Waite to be against the interests of the English Company.
3. He was appointed broker by the New United Company also.

J. H. Grose thus wrote about Rustam Manock's son Nowrojee

(c) *J. H. Grose
(1750) on Rustam
Manock's son
Nowroji.*

"Nowrojee Rustumjee, who was here in England, and whose family was in the greatest consideration among those people, deduced his descent from those kings of Persia, whose dynasty was destroyed by

¹²² *Ibid* III, p. CV.

the Mahometan invasion, when the last prince of it, Izdigerdes,¹²³ a descendant from Cosroes, the son of Hormisdas,¹²⁴ was dethroned and slain about the year 650. But whether his pretensions were just or not, or whether the rank of those fugitives was in general as high as their posterity assert it was, when they arrived at the country where Surat stands, they were hospitably received by the Gentoo inhabitants, who compassioned their distress and were perhaps themselves alarmed with reason, as it proved afterwards at the progress of the Mahometans, which had thus fallen, like a storm, on a country not very distant from them." 124a.

Rustom Manock is referred to by Anquetil Du Perron, more than once. He, on the authority of Dastur Darab (d) *Anquetil Du Perron* (1761) of Surat, refers to the visit of Rustam Manock's son Nowroji to England. He speaks of that visit on *Rustam Manock*. having occurred about 40 or 50¹²⁵ years before him. When there, Nowroji was shown an old Ms. of the Zend Yazashna Sade in the Bodleian Library, but he could not read it (le Manuscrit Zend que Norouzdi, fils de Roustoum Manek, vit il y a quarante à cinquante ans en Angleterre, et qu'il ne put lire, à ce que m'a dit le Destour Darab)¹²⁶. Nowroji was not initiated as a priest. He is spoken of as *osta*. So not being taught the Avesta alphabet, we can understand, why he could not read it. Had he been initiated like his father Rustam he could have read the Ms¹²⁷.

¹²³ Yazdagard. ¹²⁴ Khosro, the son of Hormazd.

^{124a} J. H. Grose's Voyage to the East Indies, ed. of 1772, p. 124. The 1st ed. was published in 1766.

¹²⁵ The year of Nowroji's visit of England was 1724 A.C.

¹²⁶ Zend Avesta, Tome I, Partie 2, Notices, &c., p. IX. *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Dorab, p. 7. (Parsi Prakash I, p. 29).

¹²⁷ According to Anquetil, there were two copies of the Yazashna at Oxford. One was showed to Rustam Manock's son Nowroji, as said above. The other was carried to England by Mr. Frazer, who had purchased it, together with a Rivāyat for Rs. 500 from Manockji Nowroji Seth, the grand-son of Rustam Manock. (Le second exemplaire de l'Izeschné conservé à Oxford, a été écrit à Surate, l' an 1105 d'Iezdedjerd, de J.C. 1735 et apporté en Angleterre par M. Frazer, qui, au rapport de Darab, l' avoit acheté avec un *Ravayet*, cinq cent Roupies (douze cent livres) de Manekdjiset, petit-fils de Roustoum; lequel (Manekdjiset) le tenoit du Destour Bikh" (Zend-avesta, Tome I, Partie II, p. IX). This Manockji Seth lived from 1688 to 1748 (*Vide* Parsee Prakash I; p. 36). *Vide* my Anquetil and Dastur Darab, p. 7. *Vide* *Ibid* for Dastur Bikh. Genealogical Table, p. 276.

Anquetil refers also to Rustam's garden of flowers at Surat ^{128a}.

The Qisseh has a special section for his family, headed در اولاد
His Family, رستم گوید i.e., said (in the matter) of Rustam's
 c. 299 seq. heirs. It says that Rustam had three sons,
 Framarz, Bahman and Naoruz. The author adds that Nowroji was
 his pupil (hâvisht). Rustam's wife was named Ratan-banoo
 (Ratanbâi). He says: "God has given him a pious wife and
 that beautiful lady is named Ratan-bânu" (c. 309).

Rustam died at the ripe old age of 86 on 30th July 1721.¹²⁸
 The Bombay Seth Khândân family came into prominence,
 since the foundation of a Trust of Religious charities by Manokji
 Nowroji ¹²⁹, the grandson of Rustam Manock, and the son of Rus-
 tam Manock's third son Nowrojee, who is mentioned in the Qisseh
 by the author as his pupil, and who had gone to England to seek
 redress at the hands of the Directors of the East India Company.
 I have given above (p. 1) the genealogy of the line coming down to
 Mr. Kavasji Seth, the present Mutwali (متولی), i.e., the
 administrator of the Trust and Charities, the 8th in direct descent
 from Rustam Manock.

^{128a} *Ibid*, p. 311

¹²⁸ Parsee Prakash I p. 23.

¹²⁹ This Manockjee Nowrojee Seth seems to have been a patron of Iranian literature. He got Mss. written by learned priests. (a) One of such Mss. has found its way in the Bodleian Library. I had the pleasure of seeing it, on 23rd August 1889, during my visit of the Bodleian in the company of the late Rev. Dr. Mills. It is a Ms. of the Vendidad Sadeh, written by Mobad Bhika bin Rustam in 1105 A.Y. (1736) A.C. for Manockjee Seth. The Colophon

بجسب فرموده شیت صاحب مهربان فیض رسان شیت :
 صاحب موبد مانکجی شیت نوشته شد

Vide Sachau and Etche's "Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library" (1889). *Vide* its section D. Zoroastrian Literature (column 1106 Ms. 1936). *Vide* my Dastur Bahman Kaikobad and the Kisseh-i-Sanjan, Appendix 2, p. 80. Another Ms. written by the same Dastur for Manockjee Seth has made its way in the India Office Library. It is a Ms. of the Yasna (*Ibid*). The same Dastur requested Manockji Seth to intervene in the matter of his dispute with the Naosari Priests (*Ibid*). *Vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab, pp. 7 and 79.

The Visit of Nowroji, the son of Rustam Manock, to England referred to in an old Record of the Parsee Panchayet.

The visit of Nowroji to England is thus referred to in an old Ms. record¹³⁰ of the Parsee Panchayet of Bombay: “અરાલથી પ'ચાત મધે બેશ-નારા શાહેબ લોકો હતા, તેણાના નામની ઈઆદદાશ મળી છે, તેહની વીગત. “શેઠ નવરોજી રૂશતમજી જે અંગ્રેજીની વેલાએત નઈ આવેઆ છે In this note, Naoroji is spoken of as one “who had gone to the Home (velāyet) of the English.

The Qisseh speaks of several events of his life which have historical importance. I will not speak of them here at any length, because I have to speak of them in separate sections. But I give below a list with dates of all the Events of his life including those referred to in his Qisseh:

The first East India Company known as the London			
East India Company, founded	..	..	A. C. 1600
English Factory founded at Surat	..	..	1612
Rustam Manock born	..	..	1635
The first Sack of Surat by Shivaji, from the distress of			
which Rustam Manock relieved his people	..	..	1664
Rustam Manock relieved the Parsees of Surat and some			
poor of other communities from the distress of Aurang-			
zeb's Jaziyeh, about	..	..	1672
Rustam Manock went through the ceremony of Navar-			
hood (Samvant 1731) ¹³¹ at the age of 40	..	..	1675
Date of the mention, in a Dutch book, of Rustam			
Manock's name as a broker of three Companies, one of			
which seems to be the Dutch	..	..	1681
Rustam Manock, signing first an important communal			
document as the head of the priestly commu-			
nity	..	..	6th June 1685
The new English East India Company, of which Rustam			
Manock was appointed broker, founded	..	..	1698

¹³⁰. Ms. Bk. p. Vide my “History of the Parsi Panchayet” (પારસી પંચાયેતની તવારીખ).

¹³¹. Vide the Firhest of the Navars at Naosari, which is now being published by the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, p. 36.

Date of the Inscription on a well at Hajira, near Surat, built for public use by Rustam Manock (Samvant 1755)	1699
Sir Nicholas Waite arrived at Surat as the head of the Factory of the New East India Company and appointed Rustam Manock its broker ..	19th January 1699 ¹³²
Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, arrived at Maslipatam	25th September 1699 ¹³³
Rustam Manock's Visit to the Court of Aurangzib with the English Ambassador	1710
Rustam Manock's Visit of Dandeh-i Rajpuri	1701
Rustam appointed "broker for the United Trade" ..	1704 ¹³⁴
Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to secure the release of Osman Chalibi's ship captured by the Portuguese	Date uncertain
Rustam Manock removed from Brokership by the Nawab and imprisoned at the instance of Waite About	1705
Rustam Manock's death	30th July 1721
Rustam Manock's youngest son Nowroji sailed per ship Salisbury, for England, to seek redress from the United East India Company, and arrived in London	April 1723
The date of the 1st Document, viz., the letter from 17 Directors of the East India Company to "the President and Council of Bombay", directing that Framji and Bomanji, the sons of Rustam Manock, may be at once released from confinement ..	19th August 1723
Second Document, viz., the Award of four Arbitrators appointed by the E. I. Company in favour of the sons of Rustam Manock	18th January 1724
Third Document—The Award noted by the Lord Mayor and Alderman	February 1724
Fourth Document—A letter to Nowroji's two brothers in India, Framji and Bomanji, from Cha. Boonet,	

¹³² Bruce's *Annals of the Honorable East India Company* Vol. III (1910), p. 335. ¹³³ *Ibid.*, p. 344. ¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 569.

in London, speaking of Nowroji's work in	
London	25th March 1725
Nowroji died	on 13th April 1732 ¹³⁵

VII.

(C) The historical events, mentioned in the Qisseh.

We will now examine the historical events referred to in the Qisseh-i Rustam Manock. The Persian poem Qisseh-i Rustam Manock, refers to the following historical events of the time of Aurangzeb :— I. The *Jaziyeh* or Poll tax, imposed by Aurangzeb. II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat. III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory. IV. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of an English factor : (a) The visit itself. (b) The state of affairs after the visit and on the return of the Embassy of Sir William Norris. V. Rustam Manock's visit, during the return journey from the Mogul Court, of : — (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari. VI. Rustam Manock's visit of Goa to get Osmān Chalibi's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

I. THE JAZIYEH IMPOSED BY AURANGZEB.

The Qisseh says, that the Jaziyeh-tax imposed by Aurangzeb was felt heavily by the people, both the Parsees and the non-Parsees of Surat. The Parsees as a body applied to Rustam Manock to relieve them from the tax (*zulmāneh*). Rustam complied with their request. Then, some poor people of other communities also appealed to him individually for help and he paid the taxes due by them. I will speak of this subject under two heads :—

1. Aurangzeb. His belief, bigotry and other characteristics which induced him to impose the tax.
2. The tax itself. The date, and the rate of the imposition of the tax, etc.

¹³⁵ Jalbhoy Seth gives the year as 1733, (સેઠ જાલ્હોય સેથ ૧૭૩૩, p. 31) but the Parsee Prakash I., p. 29, gives it correctly as 1732. The Parsee date, given by both, is *roz 2 mah 7*, 1101 Yazdazardi. The Yazdazardi year 1101 corresponds to 1732 and not to 1733.

1. AURANGZEB. HIS BELIEF, BIGOTRY AND OTHER CHARACTERISTICS.

Aurangzeb was born, on 24th October 1618, of Shah Jahan's wife Mumtaz Mahal, in the moving camp of *The Early life of Aurangzeb.* Jahangir, at Dahod, in the Panch Mahal, when his parents were marching with the camp of his grandfather. He was, out of the four sons of Shah Jahan, the third son, and was a Sunni Mahomedan by faith. He took an active part in the fratricidal war about the right of succession during the very life time of Shah Jahan. He gained over to his side his brother Murad, telling him, that he did not want, on the throne, Dara, who was a free-thinker and Suhja who was a Shiah ; but that he liked to see on the throne a true good Mahomedan of the Sunni belief, and that, if he gained victory over his brothers, he would go on a pilgrimage to Mecca. Thus, with the help of his brother Murad, he defeated the other two brothers, and then, going to Agra, made his aged father Shah Jahan a prisoner. Though, at first, he pretended outwardly that he wanted Murad to be enthroned, in the end, he got himself enthroned, saying, that Murad was, at the very time of the enthronement, found to be drunk. He was proclaimed king in 1658 and ruled till 1707. Shah Jahan died in 1666, continuing as his son's prisoner at Agra for 8 years.

During Aurangzeb's reign, the Mahrathas had risen in power under Shivaji (1627-1683), known later on as " the Raja of the Mahrathas." At first, Shivaji pounced upon the territories of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda and then attacked the camp of Aurangzeb. Aurangzeb left Delhi in 1683 to go to fight with the Mahrathas and other powers, and though he died in 1707, he did not return to the capital again from fear, lest he may be imprisoned there by any one of his rebellious sons, just as he had imprisoned his father Shah Jahan there. With an army of about one lakh of men, he took Bijapore in 1686 and Golconda in 1687, in which year the Moghal power was at its zenith. He could not successfully suppress the power of the Mahrathas. He put Sambhaji to a cruel death and took his son Sahu a prisoner. All this further enraged the Mahrathas, who were skilled in hill warfare and who avoided pitched battles on the plains. Most of the Deccan fortresses on the hills of

the Deccan were the work of the Mahrathas during these stormy times when they thought it advantageous to fight a guerilla warfare. Aurangzeb had to retreat to Ahmednagar where he died in 1707 A.C. His last words are said to be: "I have committed many crimes, I know not with what punishment I may be visited."¹³⁶ Though in the middle of his reign, he had raised the power of the Moghal empire to its zenith, at the time of his death, when the Rajputs and Mahrathas were still strong, the decline had begun.

Aurangzeb had, in his boyhood, received all the orthodox education of his time. His religious training
His Religious Life. led him to puritanism, "which", as said by Lane-Poole, "was at once his destruction and his ruin".¹³⁷ He received no broad liberal education.

His own sketch of what a prince's education must be, is very interesting, and had he been given that education, perhaps, his power, and after him, that of his heirs would have continued long." Even when he was, as it were, a boy-governor in the Deccan at the age of 17, he was their king, more of the future world than of the present one, and was taking a serious view of life, instead of a self-enjoying life of a prince. In 1643, when he was aged 24 he is said to have retired for some time as a *fakir* or monk into the jungles of the Western Ghats. Even during his conquests of the Mahomedan Powers of the Deccan, he appeared, as said by Dr. Friar, "under colour of a Fakier".¹³⁸ In the matter of this *fakirship*, Lane Poole compares him to Emperor Charles V of Europe. But we find this difference: Charles became, as it were, a Christian *fakir* in his old age when he was much baffled and disappointed, but Aurangzeb became a Mahomedan *fakir* in the full bloom of youth and in the midst of all the attractions of a pleasant life open to princes. It is said that when during the appearance of a comet for four weeks in 1665, he, out of some thoughts of religious penance, "only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread"¹³⁹ his father Shah Jahan rebuked him for all this

¹³⁶ Sinclair's History of India, Chap. VI, Ed. of 1889, p. 80.

¹³⁷ Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 27.

¹³⁸ Fryer's New Account of East India and Persia (1698) p. 166, Letter IV, Chap. IV.

¹³⁹ Stanley Lane-Poole's Aurangzib, p. 65.

austerity, but to no purpose. His brother, Dara Shikoh, who had gone to the other extreme and was taken to be an agnostic or an atheist, was led by Aurangzeb's austerities to speak of him as a "saint".^{139a}

Lane-Poole thus explains his austerities of his boyhood and his subsequent successes as an Emperor: "The truth seems to be that his temporary retirement from the world was the youthful impulse of a morbid nature excited by religious enthusiasm. The novelty of the experiment soon faded away. The fakir grew heartily tired of his retreat; and the young Prince returned to carry out his notions of asceticism in a sphere where they were more creditable to his self-denial and more operative upon the great world in which he was born to work. His ascetic mind was fitted to influence the course of an empire."¹⁴⁰ Lane-Poole, who compares his life to that of Cromwell in England, thus speaks of his puritanic life: "Aurangzeb was, first and last, a stern Puritan. Nothing in life -- neither throne nor love nor ease, weighed for an instance in his mind against his fealty to the principles of Islam. For religion he persecuted the Hindus and destroyed their temples, while he damaged his exchequer by abolishing the time-honoured tax on the religious festivals and fairs of the unbelievers. For religion's sake he waged his unending wars in the Deccan, not so much to stretch wider the boundaries of his great empire as to bring the lands of the heretical Shi'a within the dominion of orthodox Islām. To him the Deccan was Dār-al-Harb: he determined to make it Dār-al-Islām. Religion induced Aurangzib to abjure the pleasures of the senses as completely as if he had indeed become the fakir he had once desired to be. No animal food passed his lips, and his drink was water; so that, as Tavernier says, he became 'thin and meagre, to which the great fasts which he keeps have contributed. During the whole of the duration of the comet, which appeared very large in India, where I then was, Aurangzib only drank a little water and ate a small quantity of millet bread; this so much affected his health that he nearly died; for besides this he slept on the ground, with only a tiger's skin over him; and since that time he has never had perfect health.

^{139a} *Ibid.*, p. 29. ¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

Following the Prophet's precept that every Muslim should practise a trade, he devoted his leisure to making skull-caps, which were doubtless bought up by the courtiers of Delhi with the same enthusiasm as was shown by the ladies of Moscow for Count Tolstoi's boots. He not only knew the Koran by heart, but copied it twice over in his fine calligraphy, and sent the manuscripts, richly adorned, as gifts to Mecca and Medīna. Except the pilgrimage, which he dared not risk, lest he should come back to find an occupied throne, he left nothing undone of the whole duty of the Muslim. Even the English merchants of Sūrat, who had their own reasons for disliking the Emperor, could only tell Ovington that Aurangzeb was a 'zealous professor' of Islām, 'never neglecting the hours of devotion nor anything which in his sense may denominate him a sincere believer'." ¹⁴¹

His bigotry and dislike of the Hindu religion led to an insurrection by the Satnāmis, a sect of Hindu devotees.

His bigotry. They rebelled in thousands and their life of devotion led people to think that they were invulnerable and "swords, arrows and musket balls had no effect on these men." ¹⁴² The spread of this belief about their power led others to join them and depressed Aurangzeb's army. It is said that, to counteract this influence, Aurangzeb resorted to holy charms from the Koran. He wrote them and attached them to the banners of his army. These charms serving as inspiring amulets encouraged his Mahomedans who in the end suppressed the revolt. ¹⁴³

Aurangzeb had, as time advanced, become a religious bigot and the following, that we read of him, explains the event of the imposition of the Jaziyeh tax, which his great grandfather Akbar had abolished: "Had Aurangzeb followed the policy of Akbar . . . he might have consolidated his empire and reigned as the undisputed monarch of the whole of India . . . The dream of Aurangzeb's life, now that he was firmly planted on the throne, was the destruction of idolatry, and the establishment of Mahomedanism throughout the length and breadth of the land . . . Aurangzeb then began his religious persecutions. He

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 136.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

degraded the Rajputs. All Hindus, employed under government, were compelled either to embrace the Muslim faith, or lose their appointments. Idols were overturned, pagodas destroyed, and mosques built with the materials. Even, in the holy city of Benares, the most sacred temples were levelled to the ground, mosques erected in their place, and the images used as steps for 'the faithful' to tread on. Hindus were not allowed to celebrate their festivals and Jaziya, a tax on infidels that had been abolished by Akbar, was revived. All the viceroys in the provinces had instructions to act in the same manner. No tax could possibly be more unpopular than this Jaziya, and the imposition of it led to the most fatal consequences to the empire."¹⁴⁴

He disliked wine, music and even poetry. (a) He stopped music, not only from his court, but also from his capital city. It is said, that, once, hundreds of musicians and singers, watching the time of his going to a mosque, carried a funeral procession with a number of biers raising cries of mourning. When Aurangzeb inquired what the matter was, they said to him that as he has prohibited *music*, they carried it to the burying ground for being buried. He coolly said that, they must take proper care, that it is buried deep so that it may not revive again. (b) His dislike of poets and poetry is surprising. He said : "Poets deal in falsehoods."¹⁴⁵ That was in reference to their indulging in poetic fancies, which looked like going beyond the truth. The poets of the Moghal Courts of his predecessors really went beyond proper limits in their exaggerated praises of their royal and noble patrons : and so, his remarks may perhaps apply to such poets.

(c) Again he stopped all chronicle-writing. We know that, Babar, Akbar, Jahangir and Shah Jahan, all wrote, or got written, chronicles of the events of their reigns. But Aurangzeb discontinued this practice. All the historical accounts of his reign that have come down to us were written secretly by some persons without his knowledge or after his time. This also seems to have been the result

¹⁴⁴ David Sinclair's *History of India* (Edition of 1889), p. 77.

¹⁴⁵ Stanley Lane-Poole's *Aurangzib*, p. 58.

of his puritanic views, that, in the life-time of the king, the writers were likely to flatter their royal masters.¹⁴⁶ (d) His dislike for wine was equally strong. As Stanley Lane-Poole suggests for his predecessors, even Akbar included, that "they abandoned themselves to voluptuous ease, to Wein, Weib und Gesang," the lines attributed by some to Luther, were, as it were, true for them:

Wer nicht liebt Wein Weib und Gesang

Der bleibt ein Narr sein Lebenlang.

i.e., "He who does not like wine, wife and song, remains a fool for the whole of his life." Many Persian poets sang in that tone.¹⁴⁷ But they were not right in Aurangzeb's view. Some writers, mostly Christian, doubt the sincerity of his bigotry and puritanism, but Dryden is an exception. In his play, entitled *Aurangzebe*, he expresses admiration for him.^{147a}

His bigotry led him in 1659 to give up the calendar of the ancient Persians, introduced by Akbar and observed by Jahangir and Shah Jahan. When his son Muazzan once observed the Naoroz, he wrote a letter to him and reprimanded him. He wrote: "I came to know from the representation of a disinterested person that this year you observed the Nowroz festival in the manner of the (present) Persians. By God's grace, keep your faith firm. From whom have you adopted this heretical innovation? Anyhow this is a festivity of the Majusis Henceforward you should not observe it and repeat such folly."¹⁴⁸

Reading the accounts of his life from various sources, it appears, at times, that Aurangzeb's life presented contradictions. We admire, at times, the simplicity of his life, but are surprized on reading his letter to his son A'azar, that even at his old age, he was fond of good tasty

*Aurangzib's
Bigotry and the
Iranian Ma-
gis' Naoroz.*

*Aurangzib's
Contrarities in
Life.*


¹⁴⁶ Aurangzib by Stanley Lane-Poole (1908), p. 137. ^{146a} *Ibid*, p. 69.

¹⁴⁷ *Vide* my paper "Wine among the Ancient Persians", *Vide* my Asiatic Papers "Part III, pp. 231-46. ^{147a} Constable's selected publications, vol. III (1892), p. 121. In his view of Aurangzeb's life, he is said to have followed Bernier. In the words which he places in Aurangzeb's mouth. "When I consider life, 'tis all a cheat" (Act IV) he, as it were sums up his puritanism.

¹⁴⁸ Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri or Letters of Aurangzebe, translated by Jamshed H. Bilimoria (1908) pp. 5-6, Letter II.

food (khichadi and biryani, *ibid.*, p. 12, Letter 10). Though austere in life, he was greedy of money as appears from his letter (No. 60) to his above "Exalted son," wherein he says : "To refuse the presents brought by the nobles before you is a loss to the royal treasury. Though this time I forgive you for goodness' sake you should not do so in future."¹⁴⁹ We know that Manucci is unusually strict in his account of Aurangzib ; but, even accounting for his prejudiced exaggeration, we see, from his account, a number of contrarities which would not reflect credit on the life of an ascetic.

2. THE JAZIYEH. THE DATE AND THE RATE OF THE IMPOSITION OF THE TAX.

We learn from the Qissch, that the Parsees of Surat complained bitterly about the hardships caused by the imposition of the *Jaziyeh* and requested Rustam Manock to relieve them from these hardships. Rustam Manock relieved them. He went to the great Diwan and paid him a large sum (ganj chandi, c. 120) as a lump sum for all the Parsis. He further arranged to pay every year according to the number (mar ) of his people. On knowing this, the poor of other communities also asked his help. In this case, he did not take the responsibility of paying for a whole large community, but paid taxes for poor individuals. The *Qissch* presents a Parsee view of the hardships of the tax.

What is Jaziyeh ? The humiliating way in which it had to be paid. cc. 109-169.

The *Jaziyeh*, pronounced in more than one way, is, according to Wilson¹⁵⁰, "a capitation tax authorized by the Mohammadan law of conquest to be imposed on all subjects not of the Mohammadan religion." Prof. Sarkar¹⁵¹ says : "For permission to live in an Islamic State the unbeliever had to pay a tax called *Jaziya* which means 'substitute money,' i. e., the price of indulgence. It was first imposed by Muhammad, who bade his followers 'fight those who do not profess the true faith, till they pay *Jaziya* with the hand in humility' (Quran IX. 29). The last two words of this command have been taken by the Muslim commentators to mean, that the tax should be

¹⁴⁹ Ruka'at-i-Alamgiri by J. H. Bilimoria (1908), p. 62.

¹⁵⁰ Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 236, col. 2.

¹⁵¹ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, Vol. III, pp. 305-6.

levied in a manner humiliating to the tax-payers. As the scholars and divines of the time informed Aurangzeb, the books on Muslim Canon Law lay down that the proper method of collecting the *jaziye* is for the *zimmi*¹⁵² to pay the tax personally; if he sends the money by the hand of an agent it is to be refused; the taxed person must come on foot and make payment standing, while the receiver should be seated and after placing his hand above that of the *zimmi* should take the money and cry out 'o *zimmi*! pay the commutation money.' Such being the case, the very fact of saving the people, even those who could afford to pay a tax of that kind, from the compulsory appearance and humiliation before the tax-gatherer was a righteous act. All, the rich and the poor, were saved from the possible humility of personally going to the tax-gatherer and passing through all the rituality of payment.

The early Mahomedan rulers of India levied this tax from all except the Brahmans, who, as a religious class, were exempted from the beginning by the first Mahomedan invader Muhammad Ghorī (A.C. 1175-76). Firuz Shah (A. C. 1351 to 1388) taxed the Brahmans also. Akbar abolished the tax (1579 A. C.). But Aurangzeb re-imposed it "in order, as the Court historian records, to 'spread Islam and put down the practice of infidelity'¹⁵³. On learning of the imposition of this tax, the Hindus of Delhi mustered in force below the balcony of the royal palace on the bank of the Jumna and requested the removal of the tax, but their request was not accepted. Then, one Friday, when Aurangzeb was going to the Jamma Masjid, the Hindus mustered strong on the way and repeated the request. When they did not disperse, though asked to do so, Aurangzeb moved elephants in his front to clear his way. Some people were trampled to death in this attempt. Several writers refers to the severity of the *jaziye*h.

Robert Orme says: "In order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout his

(a) Robert Orme on the *Jaziye*h. ¹⁵² ذمی "Zimmi, one tolerated by the Muhammadan law on paying an annual tax." (Steingass, p. 559). ¹⁵³ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 308.

empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword..... The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field and industry the loom ; until the decrease of the revenue drew representations from the governors of the provinces ; which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions. It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude." ¹⁵⁴

As to the classes of the *zimmi*, Prof. Sarkar says : "The impost was not proportioned to a man's actual income, but the assesseees were roughly divided into three classes, according as their property was estimated at not more than 200 *dirhams* ('the poor'), between 200 and ten thousand *dirhams* (the middle class) and above ten thousand ('the rich'). Money-changers, cloth-dealers, landowners, merchants and physicians were placed in the highest class, while artisans, such as tailors, dyers, cobblers and shoe-makers were counted as 'poor.' This last class paid only when their professional income left a margin above the cost of maintaining themselves and their families." ¹⁵⁵ It is quite natural, that the question, whether sufficient margin was left to the poor to maintain themselves, being a difficult one to determine a hard tax-master would spread great hardship among the poor. The Parsees of Surat at the time were mostly weavers. It seems that, it was this class of the poor from among the non-Parsees that may have been released by Rustam Manock. ¹⁵⁶

Even Shivaji protested, politely but strongly, in a letter to Aurangzeb, but to no effect. The letter is long, but very interesting from several points of view. So, I give here some important parts of it from the

(b) *Shivaji's*
Letter, protesting
against t h e
Jaziyeh.

¹⁵⁴ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 73-74.

¹⁵⁵ Sarkar's Aurangzeb III (1916), p. 306.

¹⁵⁶ It may be mentioned that, to release, from small petty debts, the poor who have been sent to prison for debts unavoidably incurred, was considered, up to the last century, an act of great righteousness. The first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., is said to have done so in many cases.

text as given by Professor Sarkar : ¹⁵⁷ “ This firm and constant well-wisher Shivaji, after rendering thanks for the grace of God and the favours of the Emperor—which are clearer than the Sun,—begs to inform Your Majesty that, although this well-wisher was led by his adverse Fate to come away from your august presence without taking leave,¹⁵⁸ yet he is ever ready to perform, to the fullest extent possible and proper, everything that duty as a servant and gratitude demand of him It has recently come to my ears that, on the ground of the war with me having exhausted your wealth and emptied the imperial treasury, Your Majesty has ordered that money under the name of *jaziya* should be collected from the Hindus and the imperial needs supplied with it. May it please Your Majesty ! That architect of the fabric of empire (Jalaluddin), Akbar Padshah, reigned with full power for 52 (lunar) years. He adopted the admirable policy of perfect harmony (*sulh-i-kul*) in relation to all the various sects, such as Christians, Jews, Muslims, Dadu's followers¹⁵⁹, sky-worshippers (*falakia*)¹⁶⁰, *malakias*,¹⁶¹ materialists (*ansaria*), atheists (*daharia*), Brahman and Jain priests. The aim of his liberal heart was to cherish and protect all people. So he became famous under the title of “ the World's Spiritual Guide (Jagat Guru),” then Shivaji relates how Jahangir and Shah Jahan loyally followed Akbar, and adds: “ They, too, had the power of levying the *jaziya*; but they did not give place to bigotry in their hearts, as they considered all men, high and low, created by God, to be (living) examples of the nature of diverse creeds and temperaments. Their

¹⁵⁷ Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, p. 325. ¹⁵⁸ This is a reference to Sivaji's flight from Delhi in a basket of fruits.

¹⁵⁹ They were known as Dādu panthis (دادو پنتھی). A Dādu panthi is “ a follower of the religious sect of Dādu, a cotton cleaner of Ahmedabad, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, who endeavoured to establish a sort of monotheistical worship.” (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 117, col. 1).

¹⁶⁰ Shivaji seems to refer to the Parsees under this name. According to Steingass, *filk* (فلق) means “ a fire-worshipper ”. If we read the word , فلقي as *falaq* heaven, then *falakia* would mean heaven or sun-worshippers. In that sense also the word would apply to Parsees.

¹⁶¹ The Sect of the Malakites.

kindness and benevolence endure on the pages of Time as their memorial, and so prayer and praise for these (three) pure souls will dwell for ever in the hearts and tongues of mankind, among both great and small. Prosperity is the fruit of one's intentions. Therefore, their wealth and good fortune continued to increase, as God's creatures reposed in the cradle of peace and safety (in their reigns) and their undertakings were achieved. But in Your Majesty's reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession, and the rest will soon do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them. Your peasants are down-trodden It is a reign in which the army is in a ferment, the merchants complain; the Muslims cry, the Hindus are grilled; most men lack bread at night How can the royal spirit permit you to add the hardship of the *jaziya* to this grievous state of things? The infamy will quickly spread from west to east and become recorded in books of history that, the Emperor of Hindustan, coveting the beggars' bowls, takes *jaziya* from Brahmans and Jain monks, yogis, sannayasis, bairagis, paupers, mendicants, ruined wretches, and the famine-stricken,—that his valour is shown by attacks on the wallets of beggars,—that he dashes down (to the ground) the name and honour of the Timurids! May it please Your Majesty! If you believe in the true Divine Book and Word of God (*i.e.*, the Quran), you will find there (that God is styled) Rabb-ul-alamin, the Lord of all men, and not Rabb-ul-musalmin, the Lord of the Muhamadans only. Verily, Islam and Hinduism are antithetical terms. They are (diverse pigments) used by the true Divine Painter for blending the colours and filling in the outlines (of His picture of the entire human species). If it be a mosque, the call to prayer is chanted in remembrance of Him. If it be a temple, the bell is rung in yearning for Him only. To show bigotry for any man's creed and practices is (really) altering the words of the Holy Book. To draw (new) lines on a picture is to find fault with the painter. . . . In strict justice the *jaziya* is not at all lawful. From the point of view of administration it can be right only if a beautiful woman wearing gold ornaments can pass from one country to another without fear or molestation. (But) in these days even the cities are being plundered, what of the open country? Not to speak of

its injustice, this imposition of the *jaziya* is an innovation in India, and inexpedient. If you imagine piety to consist in oppressing the people and terrorising the Hindus, you ought first to levy *jaziya* from Rana Raj Singh, who is the head of the Hindus. Then it will not be so very difficult to collect it from me, as I am at your service. But to oppress ants and flies is far from displaying valour and spirit. I wonder at the strange fidelity of your officers that they neglect to tell you of the true state of things, but cover a blazing fire with straw! May the sun of your royalty continue to shine above the horizon of greatness."¹⁶²

This Jaziya tax, with other acts of indignity, had embittered the Rajputs, who, at first, were on the side of the Moghal Emperor. Stanley Lane Poole says on this subject: "But for his tax upon heresy, and his interference with their inborn sense of dignity and honour, Aurangzib might have still kept the Rajputs by his side as priceless allies in the long struggle in which he was now to engage in the Deccan."¹⁶³ It was the unpopularity of this Jaziyeh that led to the popularity of the Mahrathas who were fighting against him. "The religious bigotry only inflamed his own puritanical zeal, and he was imprudent enough to insist on the strict levying of his poll-tax on Hindus—which had considerably helped the popularity of the Marathas in the very country where it was most important to lay aside Muhammadan prejudices. His first step on arriving in the Deccan was to issue stringent orders for the collection of the hated *Jaziya*. The people and their headmen resisted and rioted in vain. A tried officer was detached with a force of horse and foot to exact the poll-tax and punish the recusants. It is significant that in three months this sagacious officer reported that he had collected the poll-tax of Burhanpūr for the past year (Rs. 26,000) and begged the Emperor to appoint some one else to carry on the unpleasant business (Khafi Khan, Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, pp. 310, 311)¹⁶⁴.

¹⁶² Sarkar's Aurangzeb, III, pp. 324-29.

¹⁶³ S. Lane Poole's Aurangzib (1908), p. 142.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 174-175. The poll tax officer was called "Amin-i-Jizya,"

Dr. John Fryer, who had landed in India in 1672 and had gone to Surat after visiting various places, gives a brief account of the Parsees at Surat.¹⁶⁵ He says therein, that the Parsees, when he first landed in India abstained from eating flesh following the Hindus usage, but that when the Moslems came they took to flesh-eating. So, when Aurangzeb imposed poll-tax upon non-Moslems, they expected that, as they did not follow Hindu customs, they would be exempted, but that was not the case. He says: "On this side the Water¹⁶⁶ are People of another Offspring than those we have yet mentioned; these be called Parseys, who were made free Denizens by the Indians before the Moors¹⁶⁷ were Masters and have continued to Inhabit where they first set Footing, not being known above Forty Miles along the Sea-coast, nor above Twenty mile Inland.....where they complying with some Propositions, as not to Kill any Beasts or living Creatures, and Conform to many of the *Gentue*¹⁶⁸ Ceremonies were Entertained and allowed to live among them. Since the Moors have Subdued the Country, they think themselves not obliged by the former Capitulation, they Feeding on both Fish and Flesh; and for that reason were in hopes of exemption from the present Poll, pretending their Law agreeable to the Moors, but they would not free them from the Tax. These drink Wine, and are of the Race of the Ancient Persians."

We learn from the *Ahkam-i Alamgiri* (No.72)¹⁶⁹ that Aurangzeb was inexorable in the matter of levying the *Jaziyeh*. Once, Firuz Jang, suggested that, in order to increase the population of a certain place on the banks of the river Bhima, which supplied provisions for the imperial camp, "the poll-tax (*Jaziya*) on the Hindu residents of the place "may be abolished" . . . "The Emperor wrote: I do not accept the helpers from

¹⁶⁵ New Account of East India and Persia in Eight letters, being nine years' Travels; begun 1671 and finished 1681 (1698), p. 117.

¹⁶⁶ i.e., the river Tapti.

¹⁶⁷ i.e., the Mahomedans.

¹⁶⁸ i.e., the Hindus.

¹⁶⁹ Anecdotes of Aurangzib by J. Sarkar, 2nd ed. of 1925, p. 132.

among the infidels. Your wish for the colonising of the grain market at the tomb, and your upsetting the command contained in the text-book of the holy Quran concerning Jaziya, which is ('Chastise them till they pay Jaziya from the hand because they are humbled'), by substituting for it the words 'they deserve to be excused,' are a thousand stages remote from the perfect wisdom and obedience to the august Religious Laws which are possessed by this trusted servant aware of my sentiments." ¹⁷⁰

The Venitian traveller Niccolao Manucci was a very harsh critic of Aurangzib's reign. But, what he says about Aurangzib's inexorableness about the imposition of this tax is supported by other authorities.¹⁷¹ He says that the tax was imposed in 1678-1679, in spite of the opposition of "all the high-placed and important men at the Court. . . . The King stood firm, still more so because it was his purpose to spread the Mahomedan religion among those people (the Hindus). He was of the opinion that he had found in this tax an excellent means of succeeding in converting them, besides thereby replenishing his treasuries greatly."¹⁷² He said to his nobles who opposed: "All my thoughts are turned towards the welfare and the development of my kingdom and towards the propagation of the religion of the great Muhammad."¹⁷³ Manucci says that, at last, his eldest sister Begam Sahib, entreated him to keep away from the tax, but to no purpose. She represented Hindustan to be a vast ocean and the king and the royal family as ships in it and said: "If the ships and the sailors must always try to render the seas favourable and pacific towards them in order to navigate with success and arrive happily at port; in the same way your Majesty ought to appease and soften the ocean of your subjects." With these words "she attempted to throw herself at his feet." But he disregarded her

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 132-33. According to Sarkar, Khafi Khan, II, 279, 378, Akhbarat year 38 sheet 232 speaks of Aurangzib's strictness for the Jaziye. *Vide Elphinstone's History of India* for his severity in the matter of the Jaziye (Vol. II, p. 495.)

¹⁷¹ *Storia Do Magor or Mogul India*, translated by William Irvine, (1907), Vol. III, pp. 288-91. ¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 288-9. ¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 289.

entreaties and coolly said: "Madam, forget not that when Muhammad entered the world it was entirely drowned in the idolatry of the unbeliever, but no sooner had that incomparable prophet reached the age of discretion then he busied himself with all his strength in freeing the peoples from so dangerous a condition by establishing among them his holy doctrines. Of what methods, I beg you to say, did he make use to gain such a purpose? Was it not by that taxation?" Manucci says that shortly after, there occurred a violent earthquake and the nobles, attributing it to the wrath of God, asked Aurangzib to reconsider the matter. But he coolly replied: "It is true that the earth lately trembled, but it is the result of the joy it felt at the course I am adopting."¹⁷⁴ Then Manucci adds that, for every 25 thousand rupees that he got by this tax, the tax gatherer "must have at the least recovered one hundred thousand."¹⁷⁵

Manucci speaks thus about the severity of the tax. "Hindu traders living in this empire are forced to pay every year in advance a personal tax, as I have once before stated (II.182: III. 51; IV. 28). In return, they are given a receipt to serve as a passport; but when they travel to another kingdom or province of this empire the said passport is of no value. On their outward and their return journey the same amount is collected. In this way the merchants suffer from the great impositions, and thus many of them and of the bankers are ruined. Aurangzib rejoices over these failures, in the belief that by such extortion these Hindus will be forced into embracing the Mahomedan faith."

Col. Tod, in his *Rajasthan*, thought that this tax was one of the causes of the overthrow of the Mogul power. He says: "To the *jezeya* and the unwise pertinacity with which his successors adhered to it, must be directly ascribed the overthrow of the monarchy. No condition was exempted from this odious and impolitic assessment, which was deemed by the tyrant a mild substitute for the conversion he once meditated of the entire Hindu race to the creed of Islam."¹⁷⁶ Tod says that

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 291. ¹⁷⁵ *Ibid*. ¹⁷⁶ *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan or the Central and Western Rajput States of India*, by Lt.-Col. James Tod, 1st ed. I. p. 396. Third Reprint (1880), p. 338.

even the Rajpūt Rānā protested : The Rana remonstrated by letter, in the name of the nation of which he was the head in a style of such uncompromising dignity, such lofty yet temperate resolve, so much of soul-stirring rebuke mingled with a boundless and tolerating benevolence, such elevated ideas of the Divinity with such pure philanthropy, that it may challenge competition with any epistolary production of any age, clime, or condition. ^{176a}

We find from the letters sent by the English Factors here to England in 1669, that, in April 1669 Aurangzib had issued orders "for the destruction of infidel temples and the suppression of infidel teachings."¹⁷⁷ A letter from Surat, dated 26th November 1669, says : "You have been formerly advised what unsufferable tyranny the Bannias endured in Surat by the force exercised by these lordly Moors on account of their religion ; the sweetness of which the Cozzy (Kazi) and other officers finding, by the large incomes paid by the Bannians to redeeme their places of idolatrous worship from being defaced and their persons from their malice, did prosecute their covetous avengers with that frequency and furious zeale that the general body of the Bannias began to groan under their affliction and to take up resolves of flying the country. A nephew of your antient Sheroff Tulcidas Parrack was among others inveigled and turned Moor, which was a great heart-breaking to your Bannianservants and some dishonour to your house."¹⁷⁸ We read further : " Ever since the flight of the Bannians the trade of Surat hath suffered great obstruction ; and 'tis the opinion of many wise men that it will prove of fatal consequence, to the utter ruin of it in case the King (*i.e.*, Aurangzib) doth not take some effectual healing order for the making of this breach. For most of the sheroffs and moneyed men doe think of calling (in ?) their stocks and (according to the custome of this country) burying the greatest part underground ; so the bulke of trade, which is maintained and carreyed on chiefly on credit, must necessarily fail."¹⁷⁹

^{176a} *Ibid*, 1st ed. I. pp. 379-80. ¹⁷⁷ The English Factories in India, 1668-69, by Sir Forest, p. 190. ¹⁷⁸ *Ibid*, pp. 190-91. ¹⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 197.

The Date of the Imposition of the Jaziyeh.

(a) Prof. Sarkar gives the date of the imposition of the Jaziyeh tax as 2nd April 1679¹⁸⁰. (b) Dr. Fryer, in his third letter, "dated Bombaim 1675 Sept. 22"¹⁸¹ says: "Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (the heathens) all over to his Faith, and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins making them pay a Gold Rupee an Head and the inferior Tribes proportionable; which has made some Rajaahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal Countries, and Bombaim". Thus, according to Fryer it was imposed before 1675. (c) According to Elphinstone, it was imposed some time after the insurrection of the Satnarinis, a sect of Hindu devotees at Narnol. He says: "These disturbances had irritated his temper. . . . and led him. . . . to take the last step in a long course of bigotry and impolicy by reviving the Jeziā or capitation tax on Hindus."¹⁸² Now, this revolt of this sect of devotees was in 1676.¹⁸³ So, according to Elphinstone, this tax was imposed after 1676. The people objected but when Aurangzib resorted to harsh treatment "the tax was submitted to without further demur," in 1677.¹⁸⁴ (d) Stanley Lane-Poole does not give a certain date but says that it was "in or about 1675."¹⁸⁵ (e) Grant Duff says, that Aurangzib imposed the Jaziyeh, when he was in Burhanpur.¹⁸⁶ He says: "During his stay at the former city (Burhanpur), amongst other arrangements he issued orders for the collection of the Jizeca, a poll-tax levied on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, which was to be as strictly exacted in the Deccan as in the northern part of the empire".¹⁸⁷ He had gone to Burhanpur in 1683.¹⁸⁸ So this means that the tax was imposed before 1683. (f) Robert Orme, gives the date as 1679.¹⁸⁹ (g) Manucci says that "it was during the

¹⁸⁰ J. Sarkar's (a) Aurangzib, III, p. 308; (b) Studies in Mogul India (1919), p. 44; (c) Ahkām-i. Aurangzib (1912), p. 12.

¹⁸¹ Dr. John Fryer's "New Account of East India and Persia, begun 1672 and finished 1681" published in 1698, p. 144.

¹⁸² Elphinstone's History of India (1841), Vol. II, p. 490. ¹⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 489.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 494. Elphinstone gives this date (1677) in his list of contents, Vol II, p. XXVI. ¹⁸⁵ Stanley L. Aurangzib (1908), p. 125.

¹⁸⁶ History of the Mahrathas, Ed. revised by S. M. Edwardas (1921) Vol. I, p. 252. ¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, p. 252. ¹⁸⁸ *Ibid*, p. 246.

¹⁸⁹ Orme's Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire (1805), p. 74.

years 1678 and 1679 that Aurangzeb decided to impose a new tribute upon all Hindūs.”¹⁹⁰ In another place, he says: “The death of Rajah Jaswant Singh was used by Aurangzeb as an opening to oppress the Hindūs still more, since they had no longer any valiant and powerful rajah who could defend them. He imposed on the Hindūs a poll-tax, which everyone was forced to pay, some more, some less.”¹⁹¹ Now Jaswant Singh died in about 1678. So, we may take it, that the tax was levied in 1678 or 1679 (h) According to the Muntakhabu-l-Lubab, the tax was imposed in the Hijri year 1082, i.e., about 1672, for suppressing the power of the infidels.¹⁹² (i) The Ma-āsir-i Alamgiri gives the date as 1090 Hijri, i.e. 1680 A.C.¹⁹³ (j) Shivaji had written a long letter to Aurangzeb against the imposition of the Jaziya.¹⁹⁴ In that letter, he says: “But in your Majesty’s reign, many of the forts and provinces have gone out of your possession and the rest will do so, too, because there will be no slackness on my part in ruining and devastating them”¹⁹⁵ Shivaji had captured, in all, 191 forts and had himself built 126 forts.¹⁹⁶ Shivaji refers in this letter, to his visit of, and captivity in, and flight from, Aurangzeb’s Court in 1666. So, when he speaks of his capture of the forts, he speaks of re-conquests. The re-conquest of many took place in 1667-1669.¹⁹⁷ The re-conquest of Sinhaghad, Purandhar and Mahuli took place between 1670 and 1672.¹⁹⁸ So, the letter seems to have been written after the conquest of these forts which ended in about 1672. Thus, we take it that, according to Shivaji, the date of the jaziyyeh was some time before 1672.

¹⁹⁰ Storia Do Mogor, edited by W. Irvine, III, p. 288.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid*, II, pp. 233-34.

¹⁹² برای مغلوب ساختن کفار The Muntakhab Al Lubab of Khafi Khan, edited by Maulavi Kabir Al Din Ahmed, Part II (1874), p. 255 Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296.

¹⁹³ Elliot’s History of India, Vol. VII, p. 296, n. 1. According to Irvine Ma’asir’s date, 1st Rabi I 1090 H. corresponds to April 12, 1679. (Storia Do Mogor of Manucci by Irvine, Vol. III, p. 288, n. 2.)

¹⁹⁴ Vide Sarkar’s Aurangzib, Vol. III, p. 325q. ¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, p. 327.

¹⁹⁶ For a list of these forts, vide “The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, by Jagannath Lakhshman Markar (1886), pp. 103-107. ¹⁹⁷ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj, by Prof. Takakhav (1921), pp. 298-312. ¹⁹⁸ *Ibid*, p. 313 et seq.

Thus, we gather the following different dates from the different authors :—

1. Ma'asir-i Alamgiri	..	..	..	..	April 1679
2. Muntakhab-ul Lubab of Khafi Khan	..	..	..	..	1672
3. Robert Orme	..	..	..	..	1679
4. Manucci	..	..	..	..	1678-1679
5. Fryer	..	..	..	..	before 1675
6. Grant Duff	..	..	..	..	before 1683
7. Elphinstone	..	..	..	..	1676-77
8. Stanley Lane-Poole	..	..	..	..	about 1675
9. Sarkar	..	..	..	..	2nd April 1679
10. Shivaji	..	..	..	..	In or before 1672

I think, we may attach much importance to Dr. Fryer's statement, written on 22nd September 1675 (in his third letter from India), saying, that Aurangzib had already laid the poll tax at the time, he wrote. So, we may take it that it was imposed some time before September 1675. Stanley Lane-Poole also gives "in or about 1675".¹⁹⁹ Khafi Khan gives 1672. So, we may take it that it was imposed before 1675 and that it may be in 1672.

This jaziye tax brought a large revenue to Aurangzib. "It is recorded that the city of Burhanpur alone paid 26,000 rupees on account of this tax, and the total *Rate of the Tax.* for all Hindustan must have been enormous."¹⁹⁹ It fell heavily upon the poor. Authorities differ somewhat in the matter of the rate. Scott says that it was "thirteen rupees per annum for every 2,000 rupees worth of property possessed by Hindoos."²⁰⁰ Prof. Sarkar says: "The rates of taxation were fixed at 12, 24 and 48 *dirhams* a year for the three classes respectively,—or Rs. 3½, Rs. 6½ and Rs. 13½. On the poor, therefore, the incidence of the tax was 6 per cent. of the gross income; on the middle class it ranged from 6 to ¼ p.c., and on the rich it was always lighter even than 2½ per thousand. In violation of modern canons of taxation, the *Jaziya* hit the poorest portion of the

¹⁹⁹ Aurangzib and the Decay of the Moghal Empire by Stanley Lane Poole (1908), p. 125.

²⁰⁰ Scott's Deccan quoted in Grant Duff's History of the Mahrathas revised by S. M. Edwards (1921), Vol. I, p. 252.

population hardest. It could never be less than Rs. 3½ on a man which was the money value of nine maunds of wheat flour at the average market price of the end of the 16th century (Ain I 63).’ The State, therefore, at the lowest incidence of the tax, annually took away from the poor man the full value of one year’s food as the price of religious indulgence. Secondly, all government officials were exempted from the tax, though they were the wealthiest members of their respective classes in Society.²⁰¹

Dr. Fryer thus speaks of the rate : “ Even at this instant he is on a Project to bring them (Cophers, unbelievers) all over to his Faith and has already begun by two several Taxes or Polls, very severe ones, especially upon the Brachmins (Brahmins), making them pay a Gold Rupee (*i.e.* a Mohor) an head, and the inferior Tribes proportionable, which has made some Rajahs revolt, and here they begin to fly to the Portugal countries and to Bombaim. ”²⁰²

Manucci gives the rate as varying from Rs. 3½ on the poor to Rs. 13½ on merchants.²⁰³ Manucci says : “ Great merchants paid thirteen rupees and a half, the middle class six rupees and a quarter and the poor three rupees and a half every year. This refers to men and not to women ; boys began to pay as soon as they passed their fourteenth year. Aurangzeib did this for two reasons : first because by this time his treasures had begun to shrink owing to expenditure on his campaigns. Secondly, to force the Hindūs to become Mahomedans. Many who were unable to pay turned Mahomedans, to obtain relief from the insults of the collectors.”²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Sarkar’s *Aurangzib*, Vol. III, p. 307.

²⁰² *A New Account of East India and Persia*, Letter III, Chap. III, p.107.

²⁰³ A recent writer Mr. Syed Hashimi (Faridabadi), in his article, “ The Real Alamgir ” (*Islamic Culture*, of October 1928, p. 627) gives the rate which approaches that of Manucci. He says : “ It was levied on non-military, well-to-do male adults only, who had an income of at least 200 dirhams a year, which, at the lowest estimate, should be computed in its purchasing value as the equivalent of about 500 rupees in the terms of the present-day currency. On this income 3½ rupees per annum were charged, while the maximum estimate of the tax was about Rs. 14 per annum levied on an income of more than 10,000 Dirhams a year.”

²⁰⁴ *Storia Do Mogor*, edited by Irvine, Vol. II, p. 234.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went personally to the Divan and settled arrangements to pay the Jaziyeh annually (cc. 120-22). But, when some poor people of other communities individually appealed to him for help, he asked his Naib, *i.e.*, assistant, Noshirwan, to pay the Jaziyeh, for the poor from his money (c. 150). Now as the author does not give the full name of Noshirwan, it is difficult to identify him. One Nusserwanji is referred to, later on, in the Qisseh, in the account of Rustam Manock's visit of Naosari on his return from the Mogul Court, where he had gone with the English ambassador. He is there spoken of as a relative in whose house Rustam lodged as a guest (c. 406). It is possible that both these persons may be one and the same person. We will speak of this Noshirwan, later on, in our account of the visit to Naosari. But, if these two Noshirwans are different, it is difficult to identify this Noshirwan.²⁰⁵

The Qisseh refers to the views of the Sad-dar Nazm on the subject of the Jaziyeh. It says that, according to the Sad-dar, a person who relieves another from the oppression (zulm) of the Jaziyeh is well rewarded for this act. God gives him a place in the Heaven. His soul is respected in the presence of Zarthosht. The Sad-dar Nazm (*i.e.*, the Book of 100 Chapters in verse) was written in 1495 A.C. by Irānshah bin Malek Shāh. It is possible that it was based on the Sad-dar Nasr (the Sad-dar in prose), which was written by three persons, Medyomah, Vardosht and Siāvaksh, some time after the Arab Conquest.²⁰⁶

²⁰⁵ One may be tempted to say that if he was Rustam's relative, he may be his grandson Noshirwan, the son of Bahmanji. But the dates make this supposition impossible. I am thankful to Mr. Sohrab P. Davar for kindly drawing my attention to the inconsistency of dates in his letter of 29th August 1928. So, we must take it that, either he was the same Nusserwanji as the one mentioned later on, or some other person.

²⁰⁶ For a detailed account of the Sad-dar, *vide* (a) West S.B.E., Vol. XXIV, Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XXXIX; (b) Grundriss der Iranischen Philologie, Band II, p. 123; (c) Sad-dar Nasr and Sad-dar Bundeesh by Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar; (d) Dr. Hyde has given a translation in Latin of the Sad-dar Nasr in his "Historia Religionis veterum Persarum," under the heading of Magorum Liber Sad-dar (2nd ed. of 1760, pp. 443-512); (e) The Sad-dar Bahr-i-tavil (*i.e.*, the Sad-dar in long meters), which has been translated into Gujarati by Dastur Jamaspji Minochehrji Jamaspasana

We find the following references to the Jaziye in the Sad-dar Nazm's 66th Chapter, which asks one to remain steadfast in his belief on the Mazdayasnān religion.²⁰⁷

(a) ز بهر زر جزیه گر نیز کس
فرومانده باشد ایا خوش نفس
ندارد که آن جزیه بدهد بدان
بخواهد شد از دست پیش بدان
اگر یاریش اندر آنجا دبی
هران جزیراش را تو تنها دبی
چنان دان که کردی زکشتن خلاص
در کار گشتی تو بهر دین خاص
بمینوش پاداش مزد و ثواب
بیایی ازین دین به بی حساب²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷ The first line of the chapter thus speaks of its contents :

در شصت و شش آنکه ما دین به که آن مزدیشان بود از فر

I am thankful to Mr. Bomanji Nusserwanji Dhabhar for helping me to trace the reference.

²⁰⁸ (Saddar Chap. 66 ll. 14-18) Manuscript of the Sad-dar Nazm in the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute. *Fide* for this Ms. the Catalogue of the Institute by Mr. B. N. Dhabhar (1923), p. 149, No. R. 61. The colophon at the end, gives the date of the Ms. as *roz Ābān, Māh Asfandārmad*, year 1103 A. Y. (i.e., 1734 A. C.). It was written in Surat in the country (balād) of Gujarat in Hind by Mobad of Broach, Herbad Kāusji, son of Padamji, son of Dastur Kāmdin, son of Dastur Faridun, son of Dastur Padam, son of Ostā Rām, son of Herbad Kahānān (کهانان) son of Mobad Shehyār (شه یار) son of Mobad Nahāryār (نهار یار). This scribe Kausji was the son of Dastur Padamji Kāmdinji, referred to in a document of 1st August 1716 A. C. (Parsee Prakash I, p. 849.)

Another old copy of the sad-dar gives us following variants in the above verse, e.g., c. (couplet) 1, 1. 1 has *هم از بهر* c. 2, 1. 2 has *دیش بدان* instead of *پیش بدان*, *fide* the Ms. VII, 19 (Brelvi's Catalogue p. XXXI). This Ms. has no colophon. The chronogram gives 14th of Mohram 900 as the date. (The chronogram *شتر* (300+400+200=900) gives the Mahomedan year of the original composition, which, according to West (S. B. E. Vol. 24 Introd. p. 37), comes to 14th October 1495 A.C.

thing). There is nothing worse than this in our religion. You must break away from (*i.e.*, avoid) this money, because this money is a crime on your neck. In whatever place (or way) this money is spent, know, that there will remain no progeny (or stock) in that family. Annihilation will prevail in that place and the family will disappear by diminution.

The reason, why the Sad-dar,²¹⁶ written in Persia, refers to the Jaziye, is that Jaziye was a tax imposed after the Arab conquest upon the Zoroastrians of Persia. The Zoroastrians of Persia had to pay the tax upto the year 1862, when, after constant representations, it was cancelled.²¹⁷

*The Jaziye
in Persia.*

VIII

II. Shivaji's Sack of Surat.

The second important subject referred to by the Qisseh is that of the Sack of Surat by Shivaji. The account of Shivaji's Sack of Surat as given in the Kisseh is briefly as follows :

*The Account
of the Kisseh
about Shivaji's
Sack of Surat.*

²¹⁶ There are several sad-dars, all mostly treating of the same subject, but one is in prose, another in verse and the third in verse of the meter called *behr-i tavil*. They all were written in the 14th or 15th century. The Sad-dar Nazm (in verse) was written in 864 A. Y. (1495 A. C.), but the prose Saddar was written long before this. For another Ms. of the Sad-dar Nazm in the Mulla Feroze Library, *vide* the Supplementary Catalogue of Arabic-Persian Mss. by Mr. S. A. Brelvi (1917), p. XXXI.

²¹⁷ Mr. Bomanji Behramji Patel, in his *Parsee Prakash*, Vol. I (pp. 654-66) gives a very interesting account of the work of the Persian Zoroastrian Amelioration fund founded in Bombay on 11th January 1855. One of the objects of that fund was to relieve the Zoroastrians of Persia from the burden of the Jaziye tax. The late Mr. Manockji Hataria, the agent in Persia of the above fund, had been to the Zoroastrians of Persia, what Rustam Manock was to the Zoroastrians of Surat. We find a succinct account of the incidence of the Jaziye in Persia, included in the above account (*Ibid*, pp. 659-66). The annual payment by the Bombay Parsees for their co-religionists in Persia came to about Rs. 5,000. The Bombay Parsees paid it regularly from about 1858 to 1881. The total they paid during these years came to about Rs. 1,09,564. Rich Parsees of Bombay had given large sums of money to be permanently invested, for the Jaziye to be paid annually from its interest.

1. Shivaji is spoken of as Shiva²¹⁸ ghani (غني), i.e., Shiva, the plunderer.

2. He came with a large equipage (hashm-i farāvān). The author gives the number of his followers as 50,000.

3. He arrested men, women and even milk-drinking children (kudakān shîr khur) from all four directions and detained them in prison (در حبس c. 172).

4. He carried away as booty (ghārat), from all houses in the city, silken cloth (qumās), gold, silver, household furniture (kālā) and jewellery (or articles, *ganj*).

5. As a result of this confusion of arrests (gīr o dār)²¹⁹, there was a general flight (gurīgh).

6. He set fire everywhere.

7. All were stupified (satuh) by his oppression.

8. Several helpless people were imploring for forgiveness from zulmāneh,²²⁰ i.e., money for ransom.

Sir Jamsetjee Jeejeebhoy, the first Baronet, had announced the payment of a sum of Rs. 25,000 for the purpose, before the foundation of the Fund, and his sons, later on, set apart that sum. The above-mentioned account gives one an idea of the distress which the Zoroastrians of Persia had to suffer for this tax. It was in Ruzdān 1299 Hijri (August 1882), that the late Shah Nasserud-din, after several representations from the Parsees of Bombay and England, during his visit of England, kindly cancelled the tax. Sir H. Rawlinson and Mr. Edwards Eastwick, who were appointed to look after the arrangements for the Shah's visit to England in 1873, and various other British officers, tried their best to help the Parsees in this matter. At last, it was Mr. Ronald Thomson, the then British ambassador at Teheran, who, with his letter, dated Teheran, 27th September 1882, addressed to Sir (then Mr.) Dinshaw Manockji Petit, Bart., sent the royal *farmān* with its translation, cancelling the tax. The *farmān* is headed: "Royal Farmān issued by His Majesty Nasserreddeen Shah, relieving the Zoroastrians of Persia from the payment of the tribute annually levied from them under the name of Jezieh." (*Ibid*, p. 662.)

²¹⁸ 'Ji' at the end of the name is simply honorific. Even modern writers on his life, at times, speak of him as Shiva, e.g., Prof. Jadunath Sarkar in his "Shivaji and his Times" (1919).

²¹⁹ Cf. Gujarati ગુજરાતી

²²⁰ ظلمانه Steingass does not give the word, but the word seems to mean ransom, lit. a sum of money given for being released from oppression (zulm).

9. Those who were arrested sent words to their wives and children, that they were much oppressed and that they will not be free from the fetters of the unholy Shiva *ghani*, unless *zulmāneh* or ransom was paid.

10. Those to whom the errand was sent were quite helpless as they themselves were plundered and their houses burnt and they themselves were without food and dress.

11. So, broken-hearted and ashamed to ask (*pur khajal*), they went to Rustam Manock and prayed for help. They said that Shiva *ghani* has carried away some men from our houses and asks Rs. 10,000 as ransom for these men. He has come like Ahriman and has become an enemy of the city and the villages.

12. He had an army of 50,000 soldiers.

13. That army had, at its head, two leaders, one of whom is vicious (or cruel) and the other devillish. They were hostile to the Zoroastrians. They devastated the city and the villages and carried away from all houses silver, ornaments, apparel and grain as pillage and then set fire to the houses. They killed some and tied on their backs the hands of others. Among us, there are some who have run away from captivity.

14. Rustam Manock was affected by what they said. He gave the sum of ransom and also gave them food and clothing.

The sack is described by several contemporary writers—contemporary of the time of Shivaji—of different nationalities, Hindu, Mahomedan, English, French and Dutch. But the above account is from the pen of a contemporary Parsee priest, and as such, it may interest many. Now, before speaking of the Sack, I will say a few words on Surat and on the life of Shivaji.

Surat, standing on the southern bank of the Tapti, was about 12 miles from the sea. The city had a fort, but no wall round it, at the time of the first sack. It was after the first sack that Aurangzeb ordered a wall to be built round the city. The city of Surat was, at that time, to the Western coast of India, what Bombay is at present. It was a big emporium of trade between

*Surat at the
time of Shivaji's
Sack.*

this part of India and the West. Again, it was the port for the pilgrims to go to Mecca. So, it was frequented, now and then, by rich pilgrims from all parts of India^{220a} and even from Central Asia. This visit of rich pilgrims to the city added to its wealth which is said to have been "boundless".²²¹ "The imperial customs alone yielded a revenue of 12 lakhs of Rupees a year in 1666."²²²

It is said that, in the time of Akbar and Jahangir, the Portuguese having a good fleet of ships in the sea near it, molested the pilgrim ships and exacted ransoms from the pilgrims on them. To save themselves from this molestation, the pilgrims, before going on board the ships, took pass-ports from the Portuguese at Surat. They charged very high fees for these pass-ports. It is said that a daughter of Humayun had to give to the Portuguese a small village as the fee for her pass-port when she went on a pilgrimage. Shivaji himself, following the European powers, built up a fleet with a view to command the sea and especially with a view to command the pilgrim traffic. The population of the city in Aurangzeb's and Shivaji's time was about 2 lakhs of people living in an area of about 4 square miles. The rich people occupied, as now, the river frontage. Surat was one of the richest cities of the Empire and it "contributed something like half a million sterling (about Rs. 75 lacs) in addition to the land tax" to Aurangzeb.²²³ From the fact of Surat having given to Shivaji during his several sacks a good deal of wealth, Shivaji is said to have called it "the key of his treasury."²²⁴

In the time of Aurangzeb, it was the head-quarters of the Parsees. The *Khulasatu-t-tawārikh*, written some time between 1695 and 1699, thus refers to them, while speaking of Surat: "The sect of Zoroastrians (Parsis) having come from Fars and taken up their abode here, keep up among themselves the practice of

^{220a} Thomas Moore, in his *Lala Rookh*, represents the king of Bucharest coming there from Central Asia to go on a pilgrimage. This was in the time of Aurangzeb.

²²¹ Prof. Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 98. ²²² *Ibid.*

²²³ Stanley Poole's *Aurangzeb*, p. 127.

²²⁴ J. H. Bilimoria's *Letters of Aurangzeb*, p. 124, n. 3.

fire-worship.”²²⁵ According to the supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, written between 1750 and 1760,²²⁶ Aurangzib built the rampart wall round the city, to prevent the Deccanis raiding the city.²²⁷ The wall, enclosing some of the ‘*purās*’ (પુરા), known as the *Alampanah* wall, was built later in the reign of Farruksiyar.²²⁸ It is said that, in the early times of the Sultans of Gujarat, Rander on the other side of Tapti was the port, but in 947 Hijri (1540 A.C.) Safar Aga (Ashgar Aga), known as Khudawand Khan in the reign of Sultan Mahmud, built the city Fort, to protect the city “in order to put an end to the piracy of the Europeans who were harassing the inhabitants.”²²⁹ The ports of Broach, Bulsar, Naosari, Ghandevi, Chikli, Sirbhawan and others were under the jurisdiction of the Mutasaddi of Surat.²³⁰ The port of Daman belonged to the hat-wearers (the *kohlā-pō-sh*), i.e., the Europeans (the Portuguese).²³¹

According to De Laet,²³² Surat had, at first, “a large fort surrounded with a wall of sand stone and defended by a number of warlike engines, some of which are of exceptional size”. The town was fenced on three sides by “a dry ditch and an earthen rampart with three gates, of which one opens upon the road to *Variauvv* (*Variao*)²³³, (latterly spoken of as વરીઆવી બાગલ (*Variāvi Bhāgal*) a small village where travellers to Cambay crossed the river Tapti.” The second gate was the Brampori gate and the third Uonsaray or Nassaray (Naosari) gate. According to this author, a large number of cotton fabrics were woven at Naosari.²³⁴

²²⁵ The India of Aurangzib, with extracts from the *Khulasatu-t-tawarikh* and the *Chahar Gulshan*, by Prof. Jadunath Sarkar (1901), p. 63.

²²⁶ The Supplement to the *Mirat-i-Ahmadi*, by Syed Nawab Ali and Charles Norman Seddon (1924), p. X. ²²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 213 ²²⁸ *Ibid*.

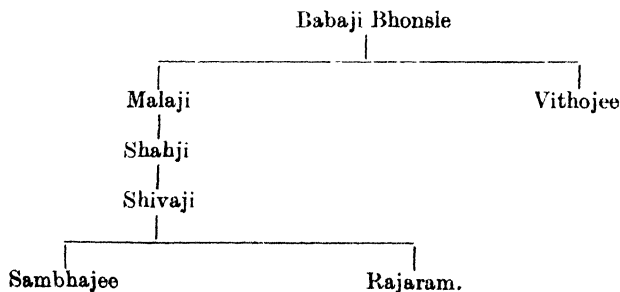
²²⁹ *Ibid*. ²³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 229 ²³¹ *Ibid*.

²³² *Vide* the Empire of the Great Mogol (*De Imperio Magni Mogolis*), a Translation of De Laet’s “Description of India and Fragment of Indian History,” translated by J. S. Hoyland and annotated by S. N. Banerjee (1928), p. 17. Joannes De Laet (1593-1649 A. C.) had begun his life as the Director of the Dutch Company of the West Indies. His book, *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, was published in Latin in 1631. ²³³ *Ibid*, p. 17.

²³⁴ For some further particulars about Surat in the times of the Moghal Emperors, *vide* my Paper on “A Petition in Persian by Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jehangir” (*Journal of the K. R. Cama’s Oriental Institute* No. 13, pp. 67-237).

Shivaji belonged to the Mahratha race, whose country was Maharashtra (lit. the great kingdom), the country between the Central Provinces and the Arabian Sea. The Konkan was that part of the Maharashtra which ran between the Ghats and the sea. It is a very hilly country and the towering heights of some of its mountains are studded with forts which are all Mahratha forts. Ramdeo, a prince of this Maratha race, was ruling in the Deccan, when, in about 1294, Ala-ud-din Khilji invaded it. It was Malik Ambar, an Abyssinian officer of the Mahomedan kings of Bijapur, who gave military training to the Mahrathas and brought them into prominence. When he found that his master, the king of Bijapore, and the kings of other Mahomedan states of the Deccan could not stand against the large trained armies of the Moghal Emperors on the plains, he resorted to mountain-fighting. He took Mahratha soldiers under him, and, living with them on hill forts, made matters hot for the Moghal armies on the plains. Thus, the Maharathas were trained under him to hill-fighting. Shahji,²³⁵ the father of Shivaji who belonged to the Bhonsle family of the Mahrathas was at first an officer in the Mahomedan state of Ahmednagar and then in that of Bijapore.

²³⁵ It is said of Shahji, the father of Shivaji, that he was given the name of Shah from the name of a Musulman *pir* (saint), Shah Sharif of Ahmednagar, who was engaged by his father Malaji, the son of Babaji Bhonsle, the founder of the Bhonsle family, to pray for a son, as he had no son, though he prayed to Mahadeo and to Bhavani, the tutelary deity of the family. As the Pir's prayer was accepted Malaji gave his son the name of the Pir (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (1886) p. II.) The following tree explains his ancestry:—



He, fighting with the above Malick Ambar, distinguished himself in the war, against the Mogul Emperors.²³⁶

Shivaji was born in 1627, *i.e.*, about 8 years before Rustam Manock. He passed his boyhood in wandering *Shivaji, before the Sack of Surat.* with Mawalis, *i.e.*, the people of the mountain villages of Mawal near Poona. Inheriting the military pluck of his father, he headed the Mahrathas and took to plundering and conquering. He took the fort of Torna and built that of Rajgarh. He then took Poorandhar and several other forts. Thus, rising step by step, and taking fort after fort, he became a terror to the state of Bijapore under which his father was an officer. The Sultan of Bijapore suspected that his father Shahji was in league with his son. So he sent for him from his *jagir* in the Karnatic and imprisoned him in a dark stone dungeon. Shivaji was on fairly good terms, at that time, with the Mogul Emperor Shah Jahan. So, he applied to Shah Jahan to get his father released. Shah Jahan got him released and appointed Shivaji to the command of 5,000. At this time, Aurangzeb was the Viceroy of the Deccan, but he soon left the Deccan on hearing that Shah Jahan was ill. The King of Bijapur, taking advantage of the absence of Prince Aurangzeb upon whom Shivaji counted for help, sent his general Afzul Khan against Shivaji. Shivaji is said to have proposed

²³⁶ A fanciful association connects Shivaji's descent with the ancient Persians. Orme says: "He (Sevaji) drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore," (Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme (1805) p. 6). Abu Fazl, in his *Ain-i-Akbari*, says of "the chief of the state who was formerly called Rawal that he pretended a descent from Noshirwan the Just." (Jarrett's *Ain-i-Akbari* (1891) Vol. II, p. 268, ain 15). Thus Shivaji, who is said to have traced his descent from the founder of the Rajput class which traced its descent from Noshirwan (Chosroes I who died in about 570 A.C.), was connected with the ancient Persians. Orme's Note (Note VIII *Ibid*, p. 182) adds: "A very strange genealogy of a Hindoo and Rajhpoot Rajah; for Cosroes was of the religion of Zoroaster, or the worshippers of fire, who although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained from eating beef." (For the said connection of the Rajputs with the ancient Persians, *vide* my article *ଶିବଜୀ. ଶତ୍ରୁଘ୍ନାଦିଞ୍ଜିତମାଳା* (Oodeypore, the Kashmir of Rajputanas in the Hindi Graphic of December 1928, pp. 18-21.)

reconciliation and both met at the fort of Pratabghar near Mahbleshtar (1659 A. C.). Students of history differ as to who was insincere and as to who first began a misdeed. Afzul Khan was killed by Shivaji, as some say, in self-defence. This victory over the King of Bijapur led to Shivaji's conquest of the whole of Konkan from Kallyan to Goa. Then Shivaji invaded Mughal territories with an army under the command of himself and the Peshwā (*i.e.*, Prime Minister) Morar Punt. His cavalry spread terror wherever it went. Aurangzeb ordered Shāista Khān, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to go to fight against Shivaji. Shāista Khān did so and took Poona. Shivaji attacked one night the house in which Shāista Khān lived at Poona. Shāista Khān was wounded but escaped. Shivaji left Poona before the Moghals could collect an army to fight against him and attacked Surat.

Mahratha writers say that Shivaji was inspired by the goddess Bhavani. Krishnaji Anant, a member (sabhasad) of the Court of Rajaram, the second son of Shivaji, who wrote the life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, says so.²³⁷ Shivaji now took the title of Raja and cast his own coins. Then, he built a fleet of his own. It seems that, when he saw that the Portuguese, who had a good fleet in the Indian sea, issued pass-ports to the pilgrims to Mecca and charged for these pass-ports very high rates,²³⁸ he also followed suit with a view to amass money. He, with the help of his fleet, stopped Muslim pilgrim ships and exacted large ransoms from them. This exasperated Aurangzeb, who, upto now, tolerated his pillaging acts as those of "a mountain rat", Shah Jahan was still alive and so Aurangzeb did not like to leave

²³⁷ His translator thus speaks of Bhavani's inspiration : "There is a somewhat striking resemblance between the visitations of the Goddess Bhavani who appeared into Shivaji on every critical occasion and the consultations of Numa Pompilius with the goddess Egeria from whom he received instructions in religion and the management of his state affairs" (*The Life and Exploits of Shivaji*, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar (2nd ed., 1886, p. VI).

²³⁸ It is said that in the case of Humayun's sister, the Portuguese were given a village as the price of a pass-port.

Delhi, lest, in his absence, an attempt may be made to re-instate the late king on the throne. Again, he upto now did not like to entrust a large army to any general, lest that general with that army may turn against him. But a bigoted Mahomedan as he was, he did not like Shivaji interfering with the holy work of the pilgrimage to Mecca. So, he sent a large army against Shivaji under his general Jai Singh, keeping at his court Jai Singh's son as a hostage for the good conduct of his father. Another general, Dilir Khan, also accompanied the army. In the end, Shivaji had to make peace, known as the Peace of Purandhar. Shivaji returned to Aurangzeb all the Moghul territories he had conquered. He was given certain assignments at Bijapur which brought him 1/4th of its revenue termed as Chauth (*i.e.*, 1/4th part) and Sirdeshmukhi. Shivaji then, in alliance with Jai Singh, fought on behalf of Aurangzeb against Bijapur and drew Aurangzeb's attention towards himself, and, at his invitation, went to Delhi. When there, he took indignation at his treatment by Aurangzeb, who looked at him somewhat like a prisoner. He then with the help of Jai Singh's son, left Delhi secretly having been carried out in a basket. He returned to Raigarh in December 1666. He now assumed royalty and was solemnly crowned as a Rajah in 1674. Following the custom of the ancient kings of India and of the Moghul Emperors, he got himself weighed in gold and gave the gold to Brahmans. He had a long fight with the Siddees at Dandeh-Rajpur and Janjira. He then invaded Karnatic in 1676. Returning victoriously from there, he plundered Jalna in 1679. Now, Shivaji's son, Sambhaji, following, as it were, the practice of the Moghul Emperor's princes, who, one after another in their turns, rebelled against their fathers, rebelled against his father Shivaji and joined his father's enemy Dilir Khan, the Moghul general who had attacked Bijapur. This, as it were, gave a shock to Shivaji. Aurangzeb disapproved this act of Sambhaji and ordered Dilir Khan to send to Delhi Sambhaji who, on arriving at the Court, was imprisoned there. He, like his father some years before, contrived to escape, and, though apparently reconciled to his father, was shut up in the fort of Panalla. Shivaji died soon after, on 5th April 1680, at Raigarh at the age of 53.

Shivaji is spoken of as *Ghani* in the *Qisseh*. The word *ghani* is Arabic and means, according to Steingass,²³⁹ “Rich, wealthy, independent, able to dispense with.” Shivaji was undoubtedly a very rich man. He had amassed a good deal of wealth, by invasions, sacks and pillages. In fact, one of his objects in this sack of Surat, besides that of striking terror in the hearts of the Moghuls, was the desire to amass more wealth from this rich town. But, from the fact, that the author compares him with Ahriman or Satan, one may say that the author meant to say about him something stronger than that he was rich. In that case, we may take the word *ghani* in the sense of “plunderer” or in the sense of “an enemy.” Steingass does not give the word *ghani* in that sense but gives the word *ghanîm* (غنيم) which seems to have been derived from *ghani* in that sense. He says for *ghanîm*, “plunder, spoil, the acquisition of a thing without toil and trouble, taker of spoil, plunderer, enemy, foe, adversary.”²⁴⁰ So, taking into consideration the facts of the sack of Surat as given by various writers, one can easily understand why the author of the *Qisseh* speaks of him as “the plunderer.” Shivaji’s fame as a great fighter who plundered the territories of Aurangzeb seems to have travelled even to Persia. In an offensive letter written by Shah Abbas II to Aurangzeb in 1664, we read : “I learn that most of the zamindars of India are in rebellion because their ruler is weak, incompetent and without resources. The chief of them is the impious *kafir* Shiva, who had long lived in such obscurity that none knew of his name ; but now taking advantage of your lack of means and retreat of your troops, he has made himself visible like the peak of a mountain, seized many forts, slain or captured many of your soldiers, occupied much of that country, plundered and wasted many of your ports, cities and villages, and finally wants to come to gripe with you.”²⁴¹

²³⁹ Persian English Dictionary, p. 897, col. 1.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid* Dictionary, p. 897, col. 1.

²⁴¹ Sarkar’s Aurangzeb, Vol. III, p. 126.

The English had factories in Surat, Rajpur, Karwar and Hubli. Shivaji, at one time or another, sacked all these places—Surat in 1664 and 1670, Rajpur in 1661, Karwar in 1665 and Hubli in 1673. So, during all these sacks, the English had to suffer, more or less, at the hands of Shivaji. The Bombay factory was first established in 1668, seven years after that island passed into the hands of the English (1661) from the Portuguese as a part of the dowry of Charles II's marriage with Catherine. The first President of the Bombay factory was Sir George Oxenden who had made a bold stand against Shivaji in his sack of Surat of 1664. Shivaji had generally tried to be on good terms with the English, especially because he expected some help from them in his fight with the Sidees of Janjira. Though the whole of the Salsette belonged to the Portuguese, Kurla was in his hands. So, if he were not on good terms with the English, they might allow his Abyssinian foes to attack his possession of Kurla through their territories. Therefore he acted with them in a conciliatory way. As he was at first without a naval fleet, he acted in a conciliatory way with the Dutch, the French and the Portuguese also. Sir George Oxenden was the President and Governor of the Surat factory from 1663 to 1669. Then Gerald Aungier was the President at Surat from 1669 to 1677. Aungier came to Bombay in 1671 and returned to Surat in 1675. When the Governor resided in Surat, the Bombay Factory was under a Deputy Governor.

Now, we come to the Sack of Surat. There were two Sacks of Surat by Shivaji. So, the question is, which of these two is referred to by the Qisseh. I will, at first, describe in brief the two sacks and then proceed to determine which of these two, is referred to by the Qisseh. Before proceeding further, I may say here, that this city was, ere this, attacked and sacked by Aurangzeb's own rebel brother Morad, who is spoken of as "the black sheep of the Imperial family."²⁴² In November 1658, he had sent his eunuch general Shahbaz Khan at the head of 6,000 horse "to levy contribution from the rich part of Surat,"²⁴³ whose rich merchants had deposited their money for safety in the fort. In the

*Two Sacks of
Surat by Shivaji.*

²⁴² Sarkar's Aurangzeb, I, p. 318. ²⁴³ *Ibid*, p. 323.

end, Haji Muhammad Zahid and Pirji Borah, two rich merchants of the city, arranged "on behalf of the entire mercantile community of Surat" to lend to Murad who was hard pressed with want of money 5 lakhs of rupees on Morad passing a bond for the repayment of that amount.²⁴⁴

Shivaji thought of an offensive against the Moghul Emperor Aurangzeb who had got Poona seized by his general Shāyasta Khan. Surprise was one of the chief characteristics of Shivaji. So, he wanted to surprise Surat, the chief emporium of trade in the dominions of Aurangzeb. Again, his chief object was to amass wealth by plundering this rich city. In order to avoid suspicion, he collected his army into divisions, in two distant parts of the country—one at Kalyan and another at Dandeh Rajpur.²⁴⁵ He further gave out that this preparation was to fight the Portuguese at Chaul and Bassein and the Siddhi (the Abyssinian chief) of Janjira. It is said that, he had, at first, sent as a spy his scout Balurji Naik, to examine the situation there. Robert Orme says ²⁴⁶ that it was said that he himself had gone to Surat in disguise and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence and marking the opulent houses. His army for the sack consisted of 10,000 Mawalis, principally led by two leaders, Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzar. Our Qisseh's statement that the army consisted of 50,000 men, seems to be the result of what was heard in the midst of a general alarm. Our author Jamshed Kaikobad may have heard this number among the alarming news of the times. The above two leaders were the two gîr-o-dars referred to by Jamshed Kaikobad in his Qisseh.

It was in the morning of 5th January 1664, that the people of Surat at first heard the news that Shivaji's army had arrived at Gandevi about 28 miles south of Surat. They began leaving the city for the villages on the other side of the river. Ināyat Khan,

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*; p. 325.

²⁴⁵ Orme gives the places as Chaul and Bassein. Chaul is very close to Dandeh-Rajpur and Bassein very close to Kalyan. *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire* by R. Orme, p. 12. But these places were named by Shivaji as the places of attack.

²⁴⁶ *Historical Fragments of the Moghul Empire* (1805) p. 12.

the governor of the city, fled into the fort, leaving the people to themselves to do what they liked for their safety. "Rich men found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant."²⁴⁷ A population composed mostly of money-loving traders, poor artisans, punctilious fire-worshippers and tender-souled Jains, cannot readily take to war even in self-defence. The richest merchants, though owning millions of Rupees, had not the sense to hire guards for the protection of their wealth, though they might have done so at only a twentieth part of what they were soon to lose through pillage."²⁴⁸

In the midst of general fight and flight among the citizens, the members of the English and the Dutch factories stood daringly to their guns. They could have retired to their ships at Swally. But, instead of doing so, they resolved to stand in self-defence at their own factories. Sir George Oxenden, the English President sent for the sailors of his ships and with about 150 Englishmen and 60 peons defended his factory. To give confidence, at least to the people of the street round his factory, he marched with his small army headed by a band of drums and trumpets, through the streets to show that he was prepared to defend his factory. His example and that of the Dutch factor "heartened a body of Turkish and Armenian merchants to defend their property in their *serai* close to the English factory."²⁴⁹

Shivaji, not receiving a reply to his previous night's message to the Governor, began looting. The following description of the sack by Prof. Sarkar supports all that is said in Jamshed's Qisseh about the terror of the sack. "A body of Shivaji's musketeers was set to play upon the castle, with no expectation to take it, but to keep in and frighten the governor and the rest that got in, as also (to prevent) the soldiers of the castle from sallying out upon them whilst the others plundered and fired (the houses). The garrison kept up a constant fire, but the fort-guns inflicted more damage on the town than on the assailants. Throughout Wednesday, Thursday, Friday and Saturday, this work of devastation was continued, every day new fires being

²⁴⁷ The city had, as it were, two *hā kams* or governors, one who commanded the fort and the other a civil governor. ²⁴⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 99-100.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, p. 102.

raised, so that thousands of houses were consumed to ashes and two-thirds of the town destroyed. As the English chaplain wrote 'Thursday and Friday nights were the most terrible nights for fire, the fire turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day-time had turned day into night, rising so thick that it darkened the sun like a great cloud'.²⁵⁰ The house of Baharji Borah, who was "then reputed the richest merchant in the world," and who was one of the three rich persons sent for by Shivaji before he commenced the pillage, was with all its property estimated to value Rs. 80 lakhs. It was plundered and then was set on fire.

According to Robert Orme, Shivaji collected a rich booty. "The booty he collected in treasure, jewels and precious commodities, was estimated at a million sterling"²⁵¹ (i.e., about a Crore of rupees). The pillage lasted four days and nights. Prof. Sarkar says, that Shivaji "shrank from no cruelty to extort money as quickly as possible."²⁵² He quotes an English chaplain, who said: "His desire for money is so great that he spares no barbarous cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners, whips them most cruelly, threatens death and often executes it if they do not produce so much as he thinks they may or desire they should; — at least cuts off one hand, sometimes both."²⁵³

Krishnaji Anant, a *sabhasad* at the court of Shivaji's second son Rajaram, who wrote a life of Shivaji at the express desire of Rajaram, thus speaks of the sack: "The people of Surat were taken unawares. The forces entered the long streets of shops near the gate of Surat. The king's forces then laid siege to merchants' houses and took away from them gold, silver, pearls, diamonds, rubies and other precious stones and jewels and gold coins such as Houes²⁵⁴ and Mohurs, and put them into their bags. They did not touch cloth, copper utensils and other insignificant

²⁵⁰ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 103.

²⁵¹ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, pp. 12-13.

²⁵² Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106. ²⁵³ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 106.

²⁵⁴ A gold coin; the exact value of this coin cannot now be ascertained as there were various kinds of it and it is not known what particular kind is meant. (The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Manuscript by Jagannath Lakshuman Mankar (1886); 2nd Ed., p. 24).

articles.”²⁵⁵ The booty according to this author came to “5 crores of Hones and 4,000 horses.”²⁵⁶ The panic kept off people who had run away from returning to Surat even after Shivaji’s departure. It was on the approach of the Imperial army of Aurangzeb on the 17th to Surat that the people had some confidence and returned to the city. Aurangzeb, hearing of the sufferings of the people, excused for one year the custom duties of all merchants of Surat.

It is said that it was the courage and bravery of the English and Dutch factories that saved the situation from being still worse. Oxenden, the English President,²⁵⁷ raised his English factory in the estimation of Aurangzeb and he also won the praise and gratitude of the people. Aurangzeb appreciated the help of the English and Dutch factories by ordering that they may thereafter pay 1 per cent. less on the normal import duties.²⁵⁸

Some time after this Sack of Surat, Shivaji assumed the title of a Raja and, as said above, built a fleet of his own, wherewith he could exert some power in the sea and exact pass-port money from the pilgrims ships going to Mecca, as the Portuguese did before that time.

Shivaji's Second Sack of Surat. Aurangzeb, as a bigoted monarch, did not like this impost upon his Mahomedan pilgrims, and so, sent his general Jai Singh to fight with Shivaji. After some fight Shivaji made peace and the treaty of Purandhar was signed. He then, thus becoming friendly with the Moghul Emperor, went to Agra on the promise of being well received and honoured, but was dissatisfied at the treatment given him. This dissatisfaction being openly expressed led to his being imprisoned. He fled practising a strategem and returned to Raighar in December 1666 and renewed hostilities with the Emperor. Aurangzeb ordered his officers to fight with him but the dissensions among the Moghal officers themselves could not lead to any success against Shivaji. Again, there were difficulties in the North which distracted the attention of Aurangzeb. Shivaji, on his part, wanted some years of peace, to consolidate his power. So, all these circumstances led to a peace between Shivaji and

²⁵⁵ *Ibid*, p. 63. ²⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 64. ²⁵⁷ He died and is buried in Surat.

²⁵⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, and his times, Ed. of 1919, pp. 117-118.

Aurangzeb in March 1668. But this peace did not last long. Both parties suspected each other and war was renewed in 1670. The tide of success was in favour of Shivaji. He reconquered, one after another, all the forts which he had ceded to Aurangzeb under the treaty of Purandhar. Among these forts attacked by him, one was that of Mahuli about 50 miles on the north-east of Bombay ²⁵⁹ which fell in August 1670 A.C. ²⁶⁰ The internal differences and disagreements between the Moghul generals, especially between Dilir Khan and Prince Muazzan, the son whom Aurangzeb suspected of being in secret league with Shivaji and of aiming at the royal throne, made matters easy for Shivaji.

At this time, Bahdur Khan, who was in sympathy with Dilir Khan, was the Subahdar of Guzarat. He heard that Shivaji was preparing for a second attack upon Surat. His proposed second sack was taken to be a more serious business than the first. The English factors wrote: "Shivaji marches now not (as) before as a thief, but in gross with an army of 30,000 men, conquering as he goes."²⁶¹ On hearing of the report of the proposed attack, Bahdur Khan went to Surat in April 1670 with 5,000 men of cavalry for its defence. But Shivaji did not turn up at the time. He turned up in October and plundered Surat for the second time. The English factors, expecting that this was a more serious business, had sent down a large part of their goods to Swally Bunder where they had their ships. General Aungier, the then President at Surat, himself retired with his council to Swally. Between the first sack in 1664 and this second in 1670, Aurangzeb had built a wall for the protection of the city, but that defence could not stand against Shivaji's attack, because, at that time, the Governor had only 300 men for its defence against the several thousands—some say it was 15,000—of Shivaji. The attack came on the 3rd of October 1670. "After a slight resistance the defenders fled to the fort, and the Marathas possessed themselves of the whole town

²⁵⁹ For an account of these forts and of the association of Manohardas with one of them, *vide* my paper "A Persian Inscription of the Mogal times on a stone found in the District Judge's Court at Thana." (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXIV, pp. 137-161. *Vide* my Asiatic Papers, Part II, pp. 149-173).

²⁶⁰ Takakhav's Life of Shivaji, p. 318. ²⁶¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, 2nd ed., p. 197.

except only the English, Dutch and French factories, the large new *serai* of the Persian and Turkish merchants and the Tartar Serai midway between the English and French houses, which was occupied by Abdulla Khan, ex-king of Kashgarh, just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca. The French bought off the raiders by means of 'valuable presents'. The English factory, though it was an open house, was defended by Streynsham Master²⁶² with 50 sailors, and the Marathas were received with such a hot fire from it that they lost several men.....The Marathas plundered the larger houses of the city at leisure, taking immense quantities of treasure, cloth and other valuable goods, and setting fire to several places, so that 'nearly half the town' was burnt to the ground''.²⁶³ Shivaji retired from Surat at noon on 5th October 1670 and while retiring sent a message to "the officers and chief merchants saying that if they did not pay him twelve lakhs of Rupees as yearly tribute, he would return the next year and burn down the remaining part of the town."²⁶⁴

This second Sack was followed by something like a communist rising of the poor. "The poor people of Surat fell to plundering what was left, in so much that there was not a house, great or small, excepting those which stood on their guard, which were not ransacked. Even the English sailors under S. Master took to plundering."²⁶⁵ It is said that "Shivaji had carried off 66 lakhs of Rupees worth of booty from Surat, *viz.*, cash, pearls and other articles worth 53 lakhs from the city itself and 13 lakhs worth from Nawal Sahu and Hari Sahu and a village near Surat."²⁶⁶

But this was not the only loss to Surat. This sack gave a great blow to the trade of Surat. One of the richest men of Surat at that time, the son of Haji Said Beg, referred to in the account of the first sack, resolved that he would leave Surat for good and live at Bombay. The fear of sacks in future was, it seems, more terrible than the sacks themselves. Every few days, there was an alarm of a sack from the Mahrathas, and people began running

²⁶² For this personage *vide* my paper "Bombay as seen by Dr. Edward Ives in the year 1754." (Jour., B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XXII, pp. 273-97, *vide* my Asiatic Papers Part II, pp. 17-42).

²⁶³ Sarkar's Shivaji, 2nd ed., pp. 198-200.

²⁶⁴ *Ibid*, pp. 201. ²⁶⁵ *Ibid*, p. 201.

²⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 203.

away. Even the foreign factors packed up their goods for their ships at Suwāli. "Business was effectually scared away from Surat, and inland producers hesitated to send their goods to this, the greatest emporium of Western India. For one month after the second sack, the town was in so great a confusion that there was neither governor nor Government, and almost every day was troubled by rumours of Shiva's coming there again."²⁶⁷ But there was a special great alarm and scare on 12th October. Then, there were alarms at the end of November and 10th of December 1670. Then, two years after, in June 1672, in the victories of Moro Punt in the neighbouring Koli State of Ramnagar, there was again a scare because Moro Pant openly demanded a *chauth*²⁶⁸ from Surat, threatening a visitation if the Governor refused payment (1670). Thereafter again, there were scares on the following occasions: February 1672. October 1672. September 1673. October 1674. December 1679.

Now, the question is, which of these two sacks is referred to by the Qisseh of Rustam Manock. For several reasons, I think, that it is the first sack that is referred to. *Firstly*, had it been the second sack, the applicants may have, at least, made some reference to the first sack of 1674, saying that they had to suffer the miseries of another sack within a short period of six years. *Secondly*, this second sack was not so sudden as the first. In the case of the first sack, the people came to know of Shivaji's march towards Surat, so late as when he arrived at Gandevi, about 28 miles distant. But in the case of the second sack, the matter was long talked of, though the sack itself was sudden, as Shivaji's attacks generally were. Agility was one of the chief characteristics of

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

²⁶⁸ "It (chout) was a permanent contribution of one-fourth of the revenue, and exempted the districts that agreed to it from plunder as long as it was regularly paid." (Elphinstone's History of India (1841) Vol. II, p. 485). "Chauth is an assessment equal to one-fourth of the original standard assessment, or generally to one-fourth of the actual Government collections demanded by the Marathas from the Mohammadan and Hindu princes of Hindustan, as the price of forbearing to ravage their countries. The Chauth was collected by the Marathas through their own agents". (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, pp. 106-107.)

Shivaji which contributed to his success. The sack having been talked of some time before, the English and other factors had removed their valuable things from their factories at Surat to Suwāli where they were near their ships. So, it seems that the Parsees of Surat must have been prepared for the second sack and they must have made provision in time for their own safety and the safety of their property. So, all the distress and misery referred to in the *Qisseh* were in the first sack.

We read in the *Qisseh*, more than once, the word *Zulmāneh* (ظلمانہ) as paid to Shivaji. We do not find the word either in Steingass's Dictionary or in Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms.

*Shivaji's zul-
māneh.*

The Gujarati translator translates the word as *verō* (વેરો)²⁶⁹ i.e. "tax, toll, impost." It seems to have come from the word *zulm* (ظلم) oppression, and means "a ransom extorted by oppression." It seems from the lives of Shivaji by different writers and from other writings also, that those who pillaged cities or villages imposed a certain sum, a fine you may call it, upon a town or village. If the town or village wished to be saved from a general pillage with its accompanying afflictions, it paid the sum as a ransom. It seems that Rustam Manock had settled the sum of Rs. 10,000 with Shivaji or with one of his officers as a ransom for his community. From the *Qisseh* itself, it seems to have been a sum for the ransom of those who were taken prisoners by Shivaji. But these prisoners seem to have been intended as hostages, for payment from the Parsee community. Shivaji is reported to have justified these sacks and plunders by saying to the Nawab of Surat in 1678: "Your Emperor has forced me to keep an army for the defence of my people and country. That army must be paid by his subjects."²⁷⁰

A question arises, as to where Rustam Manock was during the whole time of the sack which lasted for six days? When there was this general pillage of the rich and the poor, how did he save himself, so as to be even able to give Rs. 10,000

*Where was
Rustam Manock
during the
Sack?*

²⁶⁹ P. 28 of the Ms. of Transliteration and Translation.

²⁷⁰ Sarkar's *Aurangzeb*, Vol. IV, pp. 233-34.

as a ransom to Shivaji for his people? I think, he may have saved himself in any one of the three following ways: 1. We saw above that some of the rich men of the city "found shelter in the fort by bribing its commandant." ²⁷¹ He was a rich and influential man. So, he may have sought shelter in the fort. 2. He was the Broker of the English. So, he may have sought protection in their factory. 3. He may have defended himself, putting guards on his house.

Out of these three ways, I think he resorted to the third or last way. My reasons for coming to this conclusion are the following: (a) As a rich man, he must have possessed a strong-built house, with strong gates and he may have protected that house with his own guards, a number of which rich men in those days generally kept, and with some additional guards engaged for the time. Again, I think that it is possible that the English factory, whose broker he was, may have helped him with some of their own soldiers to serve as additional guards on his gate. The presence of a few guards, even three or four, of the English Factory at the gate might have kept away from his premises Shivaji's soldiers, especially because Shivaji had made it known to the foreign factors at Surat that he had no quarrel with them, but had a quarrel only with the Moghal rulers. We read the following in the case of a rich merchant Haji Said Beg: "Haji Said Beg.....too had fled away to the fort, leaving his property without a defender. All the afternoon and night of Wednesday and till past the noon of Thursday, the Marathas continued to break open his doors and chests and carry off as much as they could.....But in the afternoon of Thursday, the brigands left it in a hurry, on being scared by a sortie, which the English had made into the street, to drive away a party of 25 Maratha horsemen who seemed intent on setting fire to another house in dangerous proximity to the English factory." ²⁷² So, if the English factory defended the property of other merchants close by, it seems most likely that they may have helped their own broker, Rustam Manock.

(b) Again, we learn from the *Qissah* that his co-religionists went to him and implored his assistance for a ransom and that he gave a sum of Rs. 10,000 for their ransom. This shows that the place,

²⁷¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st ed. pp. 106-107. ²⁷² Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 112

where the petitioners went, must have been one where they could have a comparatively easy access. They could not have an easy access to him at the English Factory guarded during the sack by English soldiers. They could not have had access to the fort of the Moghal commanders, where, under fright, the Governor had taken shelter, leaving the poor subjects to their own plight.

(c) Again, we must remember that though Shivaji had come to Surat with a picked cavalry of 4,000 people, his attack was not like that of a battle. His object was nothing but loot. So, his band, having brigandage as their object, must have spread in small numbers in all parts of the city and its suburbs. Therefore, it may not have been very difficult for Rustam Manock with his guards,—his usual guards, increased perhaps for the time being, by some special guards,—to defend his house.

(d) Again, it seems that Rustam Manock, though a rich and influential man, was not so extraordinarily rich as to draw the attention of Shivaji for being plundered. We find that, before looting the city on the 6th January 1664, he sent to the Moghal governor a message in writing, the previous night from his camp in a *wadi* about a quarter of a mile outside the Burhanpuri gate, that he (the Governor) and Haji Said Beg, Baha Borah, and Haji Qasim should see him at his camp to arrange terms, for the ransom of the city from plunder; otherwise the whole city would be attacked with sword and fire. We do not find Rustam Manock's name among the rich persons sent for. So, he may not have been so rich as to draw the special attention of Shivaji for a special attack. Therefore, it seems probable, that Rustam Manock may have defended himself with his ordinary and a few extraordinary guards.

According to the Qisseh, the Parsees complained of two officers who accompanied Shivajee. They are spoken of as “gīr ō dār” (گیر و دار). Gīr dār (گیردار) and gīr ō bedār (گیر و بدار), i.e., “take and hold” are battle-cries.²⁷³ The qisseh says: سر لشکرش دو بود گیر و دار

The two officers of Shivaji who accompanied him in the sack, c. 190-1.

²⁷³ Steingass (pp. 1108 and 1109) gives the meanings as “the confused clamour or noise of combatants”. *Vide* the words *gīr-dār* and *gīr-u-bedār*. The words are something like “stand and deliver”, the clamour of the bandits.

i.e., at the head of his army, there were two '*gir o dars*' So, I think, we must take the meaning of the words to be persons who call out "Take (i.e., capture) and hold (i.e., detain) persons", i.e., leaders. As to who they were, the qissel speaks in the following couplet (c. 191) :

یکی آہوجیبان و دگر دیویان بدش دشمنی قوم ذرشتیان

i.e., "one was '*Ahūjibān*' and another *Divyān*. They were the enemies of the sect of Zoroastrians." Here it is not clear whether the words are common nouns or proper nouns. If they are common nouns, they may be taken as expressing the characteristics of the two persons who accompanied Shivaji as *gir-o-dars*. The first word *ahu-jiban* may be a word derived from *ahu* (P. *آہ* Pahl, *ahū*, Avesta *ahiti*, meaning filthiness, impurity), vice and *jaib* (جیب), the heart, i.e., one vicious from the very heart. The second word *div yān* may be from *دیو* (Av. *daeua*) the devil, i.e., one who is of devilish nature. The Gujarati translator, in Jalbhoy's book, has translated the couplet as "તે અશુભ નામક ને અદ્યુષ્ટ. પારસી લોકોના દુશ્મન છે" ²⁷⁴ i.e., they are very unholy and ugly, (and are) the enemies of the Parsees. The translator of the Gujarati transliterated manuscript takes both the words as proper nouns. He translates : "તે અધેના એકનું નામ આહુજીબાન અને બીજાનું નામ દેવીયાન કરીને છે." (c. 191). i.e., the name of one of them is *Āhūjibān* and the name of the other is *Devyān*. But these names sound as very uncouth for Hindu names. So, if we at all take them as proper names, I think they are corruptions—the corruption arising from the mistake of the copyists. If so, what are the proper names of these two officers ?

They may be Moropant Pingle and Prataprao Guzur, referred to by Mr. Takakhav.²⁷⁵ He says : "The expeditionary force consisted of 10,000 Mavalis,²⁷⁶ including such leaders of distinction as Moropant Pingle [the Peshwa or Prime Minister of Shivaji whose full name was Moro Trimbak Pingle], Prataprao Guzur, and several subordinate officers." Or, perhaps, they may be Mukaji Anandrao

²⁷⁴ શેઠ બાનદાસની વંશીવંશી by Jalbhoy Ardeshir Seth, p. 106.

²⁷⁵ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj (1921), p. 237

²⁷⁶ Mavalis, the people of the mountain valleys of Maval near Poona.

and Venkaji Datto. We read in Shivaji's life by Mr. J. L. Mankar : "In the meantime Bahirji, a messenger from Surat, arrived and said to the king :—' If Surat be taken, immense wealth would be found.' ²⁷⁷ The king then thought that as most of his army was composed of hired mercenaries, they would not do the work as satisfactorily as required and that he had therefore rather go in person with his forces. Having formed this resolution, the king applauded Mukaji Anandrāo, the foster son of Māhārāja Shāhāji and Venkāji Datto, a Brahmin, both of whom were renowned warriors and who had resigned the service of the Maharaja and come over to the king. He placed under them a body of 5,000 horse and taking with him as also Prataprao Sarnobat, ²⁷⁸ other warriors, 10,000 horsemen, 10,000 Shiledārs, ²⁷⁹ from 5 to 7 thousand chosen Mawalis, Sirkarkūn Moropant Peishwa, Nilopant, Dhanājipant, Dattājipant and Bāl Prabhū Chitnis, he started for Surat." ²⁸⁰

I think that it is very probable, the two named leaders of the *Qisseh* are the above Anandrao and Datto. The name Anandrao, when written in Persian characters is **اندرار**. In this name the name proper is Anand (**آند**) and Rāo (**ار**) is honorific. Another corresponding ending is ji (**جي**). So, it is possible, the name Anandji must have been miswritten and misread as Āhūji (**آهي**). As to the name Devyān, the first part Deva is the name proper. Now, the above Marāthi name Datto of the second leader can be written in Persian characters as **دتو**. By a mistake of the copyist—and such mistakes are very common—the two nuktehs or dots over the second letter 't' **ت** may have been misplaced below and so Datto (**دنو**) became Div (**ديو**). The last portions **يان** *yān* seems

²⁷⁷ The Life and Exploits of Shivaji, translated into English from an unpublished Marathi Manuscript, by Jagannath Lakshman Mankar, 2nd ed. of 1886, p. 62.

²⁷⁸ Sarnobat was the description of a higher military officer. "One Naik was appointed over ten Māwalis (the people from Māwal); one Havaldār over fifty persons; one Jumledār over two or three Havaldārs. Ten Jumledārs formed one Hazāri. . . . The Hazāris were headed by a Sarnobat (*Ibid* pp. 24-25).

²⁷⁹ Shiledar is "a horseman who provides his own horse" (*Ibid*, p. 63). ²⁸⁰ *Ibid*, pp. 62-63.

to have been added as a plural, perhaps, to express the plural form to signify their followers. The last part *bān* (بان) of the first name *Āhūjībān* seems to have been *yān* (یان), and by a mistaken change of the two nuktehs from below to above, seems to have been read *bān*.

At the end of the section on Shivaji's sack of Surat, the Qisseh refers, as said above, to an episode in the ancient History of Iran, which occurred in the reign of Minochehr (Manushchithra of the Avesta, Yasht XIII, 131) and which is described by Firdousi.²⁸¹

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock was the Agréras and Shivaji the Afrasiāb of the story. This Agréras is the Aghraeratha of the Avesta (Yt. XIII 131, Yt. IX 22, Yt. XIX 77²⁸²). At the end of the episode proper of Agréras, the author of the Qisseh refers to some statements of Firdousi (be goftash Firdousi-i niknām, c. 338). He quotes several lines (cc. 339-345).

The fact of Shivaji's sack doing great harm to the Parsees of Surat is attested, among other facts, by the fact of their losing some communal documents in the general flight. It is said that King Akbar had given a grant of about 100 bigāhs of land to the Parsees of Surat for constructing their Tower of Silence²⁸³.

²⁸¹ For the story in the Shah-namah of Firdousi to which the Qisseh refers, vide M. Mohl's *Livre des Rois*, vol. I, p. 428. Small volume, Vol. I., pp. 337-42. Vullers' ed. I., pp. 263-65. Kutar Brothers' ed., Vol. II, pp. 53-54, Dastur Minochehr's Translation Vol. I. pp. 469-70. Warner Brothers' Translation, Vol. I, pp. 366-7.

²⁸² For Agréras, vide my *Dictionary of Avestaic Proper Names*, pp. 7-10 and pp. 149-50.

²⁸³ Vide the printed accounts of the Parsee Panchayet for Samvat 1904 (1849 A.C.) for a reference to this subject by the first Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart., in an application made by him in Samvat 1847 to the Secretary to Government. There are three Towers of Silence at present at Surat; (1) Nanabhoy Modi's, built in 1735 A.C.; (2) Muncherji Seth's, built in 1771. (3) Edulji Seth's, built in 1828. Besides these, one, which is now all in ruins, was built under the leadership of Punjia Paya in 1663. Again the existence of three more is shown by the foundations now existing. It seems, from the above fact, of Akbar giving a grant of 100 bigāhs of land for a Tower of Silence, that the oldest Tower of Silence of Surat, of the existence of which we have a documentary evidence, must have been built in or about 1573 when Akbar visited Surat.

The document giving the grant was lost during this Sack of Shivaji. So, the King of Ahmednagar who possessed Surat later on, passed in 1752 a new *farmān*, confirming the first grant. ²⁸⁴

The Qisseh speaks of several persons having been killed in Shivaji's Sack. We find the entry of one Parsi in a Disha-pothi²⁸⁵ of Naosari. It runs thus in the list of names under Samvat 1726 (संवत् १७२६): "२८-१२. भा. गोशताश भा. चानल राणा रोठ पा. ममसुआ करी आपेओ. सेवाना लश्करमे मारी नापेओ सुरतमा" ²⁸⁶ i.e., "(Roz) 28, (mah) 12. Ba (i.e., Behedin or layman) Goshtash Ba. Chanji Rana Sheth. Given as *pa* (i.e., पालक or adopted son) on mother's side. (He) was killed at Surat in the army of Seva (Shivaji)." The Samvat year 1726 corresponds to 1670 A.C. So, this death took place during the second sack.

IX

III. Rustam Manock's appointment as Broker of the English Factory.

The Qisseh thus heads, as translated from the Persian, the subject of Rustam's appointment as the broker of the English Factory: "In the matter of the Englishman coming to the city of Surat in India and (Rustam Manock's) interview with him and his becoming his broker." Then the Qisseh says: "The English (Angrez) came to Surat from their country in splendour, with wealth, *dinār* and gold. They came in ship *via* the great Sea

²⁸⁴ Vide for this document, the Parsee Punchayet printed Account book of 1903 A.C. Samvat (1848 A.C.).

²⁸⁵ Disha-pothi is a book (pothi) of the anniversary days (disha or divash of the dead.)

²⁸⁶ અધોરનાન દોલાની ભગસાપ વંશાવલી, બનાવનાર એરવદ રતનભાઈ ભાસ્કરપાલ દારુર મેહેરજી રાણા (૧૮૮૪) On p. 242 col. 2 of this work we find a death with this note. "સંવત ૧૭૧૮-૨૬-૭ એ મનાચેર. એ. નોશોરવાન ખુરશોદ મોતદ સુરતીઓના સુરતમાં શહીદી પરાંમે ગરાશીઆએ મારી નાખીઓ. This is the record of a death at the hands of the Garassias, who were "a class of land-holders who enjoyed lands or maintain a sort of feudal authority over them. . . . By profession these people are plunderers" (Shapurji Edalji's Dictionary).

to India with a large caravan (karvan, i.e., a fleet with a number of men). They came for noble trade as (lit. in the dress of) general merchants. Rustam Manock paid a visit to them. The Englishmen (kolah posh, lit. the hat-wearers) were much pleased with him. In a short time, there grew up reciprocal regard for each other and they came to be of one thought and heart. Then, the English made the Seth (Rustam) their broker and entrusted to him all their affairs. . . . Rustam then procured for them a beautiful, healthy house on the banks of the river, belonging to a well known man Haji Hajaz Beg (حاجی حجاز بیگ c. 357) at Rs. 3,000 per year. The English factors spent their own money over it and made several changes and decorated it.

Rustam Manock then went with the Englishman to the Court of Aurangzib to request favours or concessions for the English. The name of the Englishman is not given, but he is spoken of simply as a *kolāh-pōsh*, i.e., hat-wearer and Angrez, i.e., Englishman. Before submitting the request, Rustam gave rich *nazraneh* and presents both to the courtiers and to the King (Sultān). According to the Qisseh, Rustam thus placed before the Emperor the case of the English: "This man has come from the direction of the West to India for the purpose of commerce, but the Amirs (Courtiers) of the court of His Majesty do not admit him into the city with kindness. This Englishman is a very good man and he is very full of hopes to have royal protection. He submits a request, that, by the kindness of the King, there may be a place of shelter (or protection) for him in the city of Surat, so that he may bring there (i.e., at the place so given) his commerce and he may also have a store-house (or factory) there." Aurangzib accepted the request and ordered Asad Khan, who was the principal *vazir* before him, that a royal order (manshur-i shāhi) may be given to the Englishman. The order was accordingly given.

Facts gathered from the Qisseh about the English ambassador's visit.

We gather, from this account of the Qisseh, the following facts:—

1. Rustam Manock was appointed a broker by the English. The date is not given.

2. Rustam got a house for them at Rs. 3,000 per year.
3. Rustam went with the English factor to Aurangzib's Court. The name of the Englishman is not given.
4. Rustam Manock gave rich presents to the courtiers before-hand and so won them over to his request.
5. Asad Khan was the Minister (Vazir) in the presence of Aurangzib.
6. The King, accepting the Englishman's request, ordered Asad Khan to issue permission for granting all trade facilities to the English.

Jamshed Kaikobad has not been very careful and accurate in giving expression in his poem to what he wanted to say about Rustam Manock's appointment as a broker of the English factory at Surat. One may perhaps be misled to infer from his writing, that Rustam Manock went to pay a visit to the very first English settlers at Surat and was appointed their broker. It gives no dates of Rustam's appointment as the English Factory's broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzib. It does not give the name of the English factor with whom he went to Aurangzib's Court. The translation of the Qisseh, which Jalbhoy, has given is very faulty. The translator has taken much liberty. For example, the last couplet of the Section on the arrival of the English runs :

پس اقبال روشی نموده درآن
چو انگریز را ایزد غیب دان

i.e., The secret-knowing God made the fortune of the English brilliant in it (i.e., in the building rented for them by Rustam). But the translator has rendered this verse as follows : પછી બોદાએ-તાલાએ ઇમેજનો દહાડો રોશન કર્યા અને હીંદુસ્થાનના દરમેઆનમાં તે દહાડેથી કુલાહપોશ ઇમેજ જગા પામ્યો. અને ઇમેજના દલાલબી પેહેલે દીનથી રોક રસ્તમજ માણિકજ હતા, અને તમામ ઇમેજોનો કરોબાર તેઓના હાથમાં હતો. (p. 115).

The Gujarati translation accompanying the transliteration, which I have referred to above, is more faithful than the translation

in Jalbhoy's book. In the Persian Qisseh, there is nothing about Rustam Manock being the broker of the English from the beginning. The last part in the above translation, viz: "Even the broker of the English from the first day was Rustamji Manockji and the affairs of all the English were in his hands" is altogether an interpolation; and this seems to have misled Mr. Jalbhoy Seth to say in his book, that Rustam Manock was from the very first associated with the East India Company at Surat. He says:—

એ સતત માણેક સુરતની ઇંગ્લેઝ કોઠીના શરૂઆતથીજ શરૂક હતા. તેવણ એ કોઠીવાળાઓને નાણાની મોટી રકમો ખીરધાર કરતા હતા, તથા ઇંગ્લેઝ લોકના વેપારમાં ધણી સવલતા કરી આપતા હતા. સુરતના મોગલદારે ઇંગ્લેઝ કોઠીવાળાઓને તેમના વેપારમાં ધણી હરકતો નાખ્યા કરતા હતા. તે વીશેના બંદોબસ્તો કરવાને ઇ. સ. ૧૬૬૦માં ઇંગ્લેઝ કોઠીનો વડો તથા તેમના શરૂક સતત માણેક દીલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ ઔરંગઝેબની દરબારમાં ગયા હતા (p. 3).

Translation.—This Rustam Manock was the Shroff of the English factory at Surat from the very beginning. He lent large sums of money to these factory-men and used to give convenience to the trade of the English people. The Mogal officers of Surat put hindrances in the trade of the English factory-people. To make proper arrangements for that, the head of the English factory and his shroff Rustam Manock went to Delhi to the Court of Emperor Aurangzebe in 1660.

Most of these statements, though correct in general terms, are inaccurate in particulars. These inaccuracies are: (1) that Rustam Manock was not the broker, or, as Mr. Jalbhoy speaks of him, shroff from the *very beginning* of the establishment of the English factory at Surat. (2) His visit to Aurangzebe's Court was not in 1660. (3) Aurangzib's Court was not at Delhi during his and the English factor's visit. To properly understand the inaccuracies and determine the question of the date of his appointment as broker and of his visit to the Court of Aurangzebe, it is essential to know a brief history of the early advent of the English into India and of the establishment of their East India Companies which were more than one. So, I will direct here the attention of my readers to (a) a brief history of the trade of the English with the Bombay Presidency and (b) to the History of the East India

Companies given above (Section III). That brief account will help us in properly grasping the trend of some facts referred to in the Qisseh and to see, that (a) the first arrival of the English at Surat was long before Rustam Manock's time and (b) his visit to Aurangzebe's court was long after 1660 and (c) that Aurangzeb's court at the time was not at Delhi.

We find from the above-written history of the English trade at Surat and of the East India Companies, that Rustam Manock was appointed the broker of the *second* or New Company, known as the English East India Company, which was founded in 1698-99, and not of the *first* Company, known as the London East India Company, founded in 1600. At the time, when the first Company was founded, the Surat factory was not established. It was established 12 years later. Rustam Manock was not even born at the time of the formation of the first Company in 1600, or at the time of the establishment in 1612. He was born in 1635. We saw above, that the broker of the first Company in 1678 was a Hindu, a Bania by caste. The brokers of the old London East India Company were Vittal and Keshav Parekh, who continued to be the old Company's brokers upto 1703,²⁸⁷ when they were seized and "barbarously tortured," till they paid three lakhs of rupees, by Itbar Khan, the Governor of Surat, because two ships, belonging to two Surat merchants Abdul Ghafur and Qasimbhai, were captured on 28th August 1703, on their way back from Mocha, and it was supposed that the European factories had some hand in the piracies, or, that they did not take sufficient measures, with their fleets, to keep off the pirates. The brokers of the English and French factories also were arrested, but they were soon released.²⁸⁸

Mr. Bomanji B. Patel²⁸⁹ gives 1660 as the time of Rustam Manock's visit to the Court of Aurangzib in the company of an English Factor, after his being appointed broker. Mr. Jalbhoy Seth, most probably following Mr. Patel, whose aid he acknowledges in his preface, gives the same date. They do not give the authority of their statement. In 1660, Rustam Manock was a mere youth of

²⁸⁷ Sarkar's *Aurangzib*, Vol. V, p. 357. ²⁸⁸ *Ibid.* ²⁸⁹ *Parsec Prakash I*, p. 15.

(1660-1635=) 25 years of age. A raw youth cannot be expected to go on such an important errand. So, the reference in the Qisseh must be taken as the reference to the first arrival, in about 1699, of the President and factors of the second Company, the English East India Company. We are supported in taking the event as that of the arrival of the President or chief factor of the second Company in 1699, by Bruce's Annals. John Bruce says: "While he (Sir Nicholas Waite) was President at Surat, Rustum, whom, from his first arrival, he had employed as broker, &c." ²⁹⁰ Thus, we see, that Rustum Manock was the broker of the new or second Company—the English East India Company.

The Qisseh says that, at the time of the visit of Rustam Asad Khan in Aurangzib's Court during Rustam's Visit, cc. 383, 385. Manock at the Court of Aurangzib in company with the Englishman, Asad Khan was the Prime Minister (Vaziri Asad Khan budeh pish-gāh c. 383). His original name was Muhammad Ibrahim Qarāmānlū. Asad Khan was his title.

He was called Jamdat-ul-mulk Asad Khan. He was born in 1625-26. He was given the title of Asad Khan by Shah Jahan in the 27th year of his reign, i.e., in about 1655. He became Aurangzib's Deputy *vazir* in 1670 and full *vazir* in 1676 and continued so till the death of Aurangzib. ²⁹¹ He died in 1716. According to Manucci, when Sir William Norris went in 1701 to Aurangzib, he saw him. We read: "After he had rested for some days he (Norris) paid a visit to the chief minister, named Asett Can (Asad Khan), secretary of the king and his counsellor, and prayed him to assist him in the business he had to bring before the court, giving him great presents in order to obtain his support." ²⁹² Asad Khan promised support but to no effect and Norris had to leave disappointed.

As to the city of their interview, the Qisseh says (c. 364):

The City where
Rustam Manock
saw Aurangzib.

بہراہ انگریز (سہتم برفت
بزودی رہ آن شاہ دلی گرفت

²⁹⁰ Bruce's Annals of the East India Company, Vol. III, p. 595.

²⁹¹ Manucci's Storia do Mogor by Irvine, II p. 21, n. 1. Irvine's foot-notes contradict one another. In a foot-note, No. 1, on p. 300 of Vol. III, he gives the date of his being made a full Vazir as 1683-84.

²⁹² Irvine's Storia do Mogor by Manucci, III, p. 300.

i.e., Rustam went in the company of the Englishman ; he rapidly took the way towards that king of Delhi.

This couplet does not say that they went to Delhi but says that they went to the king of Delhi. But the translator of Jalbhoy's book (p. 116) has mistranslated the second line as “તે પાદશાહને હુકમ લેવાને વાસ્તે કુશાહ પે રા ઇંગ્લેઝની સાથે દીલ્હી ગયા.” i.e., He went to Delhi with the *kolah posh* Englishman to have orders from that King. So Jalbhoy has been misled, by the faulty translation, to say, that Rustam went to Delhi (દીલ્હી ખાતે શાહનશાહ ઔરંગઝેબની ફરમારમાં ગયા હતી. p. 3). Mr. Ruttonji Wacha²⁰³, and Mr. Bomanji B. Patel²⁰⁴ also make the same mistake. But we saw above in our account of Aurangzib, that he left Delhi in 1683, and, though he died in 1707, he never returned to Delhi. So, the visit in 1701 was not at Delhi.

The Qisseh does not name the Englishman who went to Aurangzib's court with Rustam Manock. He simply speaks of him as the *kolah-posh* (cc. 372-384) and as the Angrez (cc. 364, 373, 376, 380-386, 391). But, as we saw above, it was with Sir William Norris that Rustam had gone to Aurangzib. The mention of Rustom's name, as we will see later on, by Bruce in his Annal, describing Norris's embassy, shows that Rustam had accompanied Norris.

What we read in the Qisseh is, that Aurangzib ordered Asad Khan to give the English a *formān*. But in those times, a long time generally passed between the issue of the Emperor's Order and the issue of a regular *firmān*. In this case, we learn, not from the Qisseh, but from other sources, that there was a long delay. It seems that, when Aurangzib ordered a *firmān* for the President, Sir Nicholas Waite, one of the conditions was, that the English were to undertake to protect with their fleet, the Mogul ships, especially the pilgrim ships that went to Jeddah. Sir Nicholas Waite seems to have undertaken the responsibility, but the Ambassador, when he later on, went to Aurangzib repudiated it, because it was too great a responsibility. The Indian seas were infested not only

²⁰³ ડુ'બર્નેના બાહાર p. 429.

²⁰⁴ Parsee Prakash I, p. 23.

with English pirates, against whom they can promise protection, but also with Portuguese, Dutch and other pirates. So, Sir William Norris's repudiation led to delay in the issue of the *farmān*. I will say here a few words about the embassy of Sir William Norris to enable us to properly understand the solution.

Sir William Norris left England in January 1698, arrived at Masalipatam on the East coast in September, and landed in state on 24th December 1698. He did not land at Surat, because, there, the old Company, the London East India Company, of which the new Company, the English East India Company, was a rival, was powerful, and, at the time of his arrival, no representative of the new company had as yet arrived to receive and help him. The proposal for his ambassadorship was made by the new company.²⁹⁵ He sent a notice from Masalipatam to the Court of Aurangzib, giving information "of his arrival in the capacity of Ambassador from the king of England, with the object of promoting trade and good relations; and, in due course, he received intimation that the various permits and mandates had been readily granted by the Mogul, so that he and his train could travel safely and unhindered to the camp. The permits, however, were long in coming, and this delay was caused, not only by the great distance, but also, so Sir William (Norris) suspected, by intrigues and bribery, conducted by the old Company's agents."²⁹⁶

Waiting long, the Ambassador gave up the thought of going direct from Masalipatam to the Court of the Mogul Emperor and proposed going *via* Surat, where, by this time, *i.e.*, June 1699, the New Company had sent its officials. He was led to change his first plans and to take this course, because the new Company's local (*i.e.*, Masalipatam) agents did not help him heartily to go to the Mogul Court from Masalipatam. He quarrelled with Pitt, the Local President of the New Company there, and left for Surat. After four months' passage, he arrived at Surat on 10th December 1699. The Mogul's Men of War saluted him and he received the honour of a State entry into the city on the 26th of December.

²⁹⁵ An article, entitled "The Embassy of Sir William Norris to Aurangzib" by Mr. Harihar Das gives us a succinct account of Norris's Embassy, wherein we find Sir Nicholas Waite referred to as helping Norris. (Journal of Indian History, Vol. III, p. 271 seq.) ²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 272-273.

Sir Nicholas Waite had, by this time, come to Surat as the first President of the New Company. He at first helped Norris who left Surat for the Mogul's camp on 27th January 1700. During his stay at Surat, Norris was annoyed at the conduct of the officials of the Old East India Company, and, among them, of "Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, the Old Company's chief representative in India, who was then in Surat." ^{296a}

We thus see that Sir Nicholas Waite, who was the first President of the New Company and who had "from his first arrival at Surat", appointed Rustam Manock his broker, must have come to Surat in the first half of 1699. Thus the appointment of Rustam Manock as broker was also in 1699.

*Dates of SIR WILLIAM NORRIS's visit to India as English
Ambassador:—*²⁹⁷

The Formation of the New English East India Com- pany	1698
The Company found recognition by the King after the customary visit from its founders	6th April 1699 ²⁹⁸
Sir William Norris left England	January 1699
Arrived at Masalipatam	25th September 1699
He heard that the New Company's officials (Sir Nicholas Waite and others) had arrived at Surat	June 1700
Left Masalipatam for Surat after 11 months' stay	August 1700
Arrived at Surat	10th December 1700
Made State Entry at Surat	26th December 1700
Started from Surat for Aurangzib's Camp. 27th January	1701
Arrived at Aurangzib's camp at Parnello (Panalla) which was beseiged	April 1701
Formally received by Aurangzib	28th April 1701
Left Aurangzib's camp disappointed	5th November 1701

^{296a} *Ibid* p. 274. ²⁹⁷ I give the dates mostly according to Harihar Das (Journal of the Indian History, Vol. III, pp. 271-77). Sarkar (Aurangzeb, p. 355 seq.) gives 16 months for Norris's stay at Aurangzeb's camp—27th January 1701 to 18th April 1702. ²⁹⁸ *Vide* above.

Detained at Barhanpore for two months at the direction of Aurangzib who sent him there a letter and a sword for the English king. Left Barhanpur about 12th February 1702
 Arrived at Surat after a month's march.. 12th March 1702
 Left Surat for homeward journey .. 5th May 1702

X.

Bruce's account of Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court in the company of the English Ambassador and affairs after the return of Sir W. Norris's Embassy.

I will speak of the whole subject of Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court under two heads:

- i. Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court with the English Ambassador.
- ii. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the English Ambassador to England.

I. Rustam Manock's visit of the Mogul Court with an English factor.

Rustam Manock had, as a man of influence and as a broker of the Company, accompanied the Ambassador, Sir William Norris, to the Mogul Court. As John Bruce's Annals give us a good account of W. Norris's Embassy, and as Bruce mentions several times Rustam Manock in his account, I summarize here, in brief, Bruce's account of the Embassy and his references to Rustam. I will, at first, speak of Sir Nicholas Waite, who had appointed Rustam Manock the broker of his Company, and who was much associated with the work of the Embassy to the Mogul Court.

Nicholas Waite was appointed its first President at Surat by the new English Company. He was, at first, in the service of the old (London) East India Company at Bantam in Java and was dismissed from their service. On the occasion of the appointment, he received the honour of Knighthood.

Sir Nicholas Waite as the first President of the New English Company.

His council was to have 5 members besides himself. His first assistant, to be known as "the Second

in Council " was not appointed at first, but the choice was to be made from Mr. Stanley or Mr. Annesley or Mr. Vaux, all of whom were dismissed by the old Company. The other members were Benjamin Mewse, Bonnel and Chidley Brooke. "Under them, were appointed three Merchants, three Factors and eighteen Writers."²⁹⁹ Sir Nicholas Waite reached Surat on the 19th January 1700. Mewse and Brooke had arrived on the 16th November 1699.³⁰⁰

Sir William Norris was appointed Ambassador to the Mogul Court at the instance of this Company by the King. He was to "solicit and acquire privileges for the English Company or nation"³⁰¹ He was "vested with discretionary powers",³⁰² but the Company's general orders were conveyed to him through Sir Nicholas Waite.³⁰³ The Company issued a general order "that their Presidents, or Consuls, alone, were entitled to grant passes to country vessels, o. to make applications, through their Ambassador, to the Native Powers, for grants or privileges to the English Nation."³⁰⁴

After landing at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite began quarrelling with the factors of the old Company and directed the old Company's flag at Swally to be lowered. The Mogul Governor at Surat took this act as an interference in his and the Mogul Emperor's authority and ordered the flag to be re-hoisted at once.³⁰⁵ "If the first act of Sir Nicholas Waite was violent, it was succeeded by one still more intemperate."³⁰⁶ He "without waiting for the arrival of Sir William Norris at the Court of the Mogul.....addressed at once a letter to the Mogul, accused the London Company of being sharers and abettors of the piracies.....and 'of being thieves and confederates with the pirates'"³⁰⁷. He, declaring himself as President of the English Company and Consul for the English nation, represented, that "he was accompanied with a squadron of four men of war, sent by the King of England, to be employed, under his directions, in capturing and punishing the pirates, and obliging them to make restitution of the vessels and property which they had taken from the Mogul's subjects."³⁰⁸

²⁹⁹ John Bruce's *Annals of the Honorable East India Company from the Establishment.....to the Union of the London and English East India Companies* (1810), Vol. III, p. 287. ³⁰⁰ *Ibid*, p. 334. ³⁰¹ *Ibid*, p. 325.

³⁰² *Ibid*. ³⁰³ *Ibid*. ³⁰⁴ *Ibid*, p. 327. ³⁰⁵ *Ibid*, p. 336. ³⁰⁶ *Ibid*, p. 337.

³⁰⁷ *Ibid*. ³⁰⁸ *Ibid*.

Bruce gives some other instances of Sir Nicholas Waite's violent temper and conduct:—Sir William Norris landed with Mr. Norris, the Secretary, at Maslipatam as Ambassador on 25th September 1699 and wrote to Sir Nicholas Waite at Surat asking for "copies of all Phirmaunds (farmāns), or privileges, which had been granted to the English."³⁰⁹ While describing events of 1700-01, Bruce says of Sir N. Waite: "Whatever merit may be assigned to this Agent of the English Company for his zeal, it was chance, not prudence, that prevented his bringing ruin on himself, and on his opponents."³¹⁰ Bruce, proceeding further, says that Sir N. Waite hired a house, on which he hoisted the English king's flag, to get permission for which he had to give a large present to the king.³¹¹ This seems to be the house, which, according to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock procured for the Company, at the rent of Rs. 3,000 per year. The fact of Sir N. Waite's hoisting the English King's flag upon it explains why he had to secure, as said by the Qisseh, a palatial building at such a high rent. When he wanted to hoist the King's flag, the house must be worthy of the name of the British king. Then, Sir Nicholas Waite's misrepresentations at the Mogul Court led to restrictions on the liberty of the servants of the old Company. There arose, therefore, correspondence between both, the President of the old Company at Surat and Sir N. Waite, each accusing the other. Both parties now and then bribed the Mogul Governor of Surat. At length, both requested Sir John Gayer, the Governor of Bombay, to go to Surat to settle the dispute.³¹² The main point of dispute with the Mogul Governor at Surat was the question of damages, about Rs. 80 lacs, for a merchant ship of Hassan Ammed on its having been captured by English pirates in 1688. In November 1710, Sir John Gayer appeared at Surat. The Mogul Governor demanded from Sir N. Waite, that he may guarantee that no damage was done to the merchants' vessels by the ships of the old Company. Waite refused to do so, unless the Mogul Governor undertook to stop the old Company from trading. Under these circumstances of dispute between the agents of the two companies, the Mogul Governor of Surat seized the letters that had passed between Colt and Gayer.

³⁰⁹ *Ibid*, p. 344. ³¹⁰ *Ibid*, p. 370. ³¹¹ *Ibid*, p. 370. ³¹² *Ibid*, p. 372.

While these disputes were going on, Sir William Norris, the Ambassador, who had landed at Maslipatam and had tried to go from there to the Mogul Emperor's camp as Ambassador but had failed, came to Surat in December 1700. He was as intemperate as Waite. On coming to Surat, he got the British Union flag dismounted from the old London Company's ship. Sir J. Gayer got it hoisted again. By this time, news came from England that the old Company's claims were considered and that it was to be continued as a Corporation. This news set up the spirit of the officers of the old Company, to the effect that, at least, both the Companies were "on a state of equality. It was to retrieve the affairs of the English Company, shaken by this event, that Sir William Norris, at the great expense of a thousand gold mohurs to the Governor, five hundred to his son, and three hundred to two of his principal officers, obtained permission to make his public entry into Surat."³¹³ Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite continued taking unworthy proceedings against the officers of the old London Company and went to the extent of imprisoning some of the officers and of getting Sir John Gayer and the members of his Council confined by the Mogul Governor.³¹⁴ A short time after, Sir N. Waite was reprimanded by his Court of Directors for his conduct as Consul for having removed the old London Company's flag from their factory at Swally.³¹⁵ Then "Sir Nicholas Waite, without authority from Sir William Norris..... addressed a letter, in his Consular character, to the Mogul, requesting, as the London Company were to be dissolved, that a *Phirmaund* with the same privileges which had been granted to them might be conferred on the English Company."³¹⁶ Among the various privileges which he asked, were included "liberty of trade, and to settle factories to any ports in the Mogul's dominions; to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search; -to have license to hire or build a house and warehouses."³¹⁷ This statement of Bruce confirms all that we read in the *Qisseh*. The *phirmaund*, referred to by Bruce, as asked for by Waite, seems to be the *farmān*, referred to in the *Qisseh*, as asked by the English Factory through Rustam Manock.

³¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 375. ³¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 378-79. ³¹⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 386-387.

³¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 396-397. ³¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

Sir N. Waite had sent letters to Sir W. Norris at Masalipatam "by daily hircarrahs"³¹⁸ saying that he was making preparations at Surat for his reception.³¹⁹

Sir W. Norris left Muslipatam on 23rd August 1700 and arrived at Swally near Surat on 10th December 1700. Sir N. Waite had offered to give Rs. 10,000 to Sir W. Norris and "credit for a lac and a half, which he had borrowed, as the stock in hand was exhausted by the investment" (p. 402). Sir W. Norris left Surat for the Mogul Emperor's Court on 20th January 1701 "with a retinue of sixty Europeans and three hundred Natives." He arrived at Kokely 66 kos from Surat on 8th February, reached Bancolee on 14th February where he was informed by Sir N. Waite that Sir John and the London Company's servants had been seized by the Mogul officers. He arrived at Gelgawn near Aurangabad on 19th February, at Damondavee on the 21st February, Brampore on 3rd March and at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzib's camp, on 7th April 1701 (pp. 405-6).

In one of his letters to the Court of Directors at home, Sir N. Waite refers to his house at Surat and says that "the house which he had hired, as a Factory, was commodious, and situated nearer to the Custom-house, than that of the London Company."³²⁰ This seems to be the house, which according to the Qisseh, Rustam had rented for the English factory, at Rs. 3,000 per year.

³¹⁸ ४)ક ન har-kara, (of all work, an outdoor servant employed to go on errands.....messenger, courier" (Steingass). The word has latterly become hal-karah, Parsi-Gujarathi. હાલકાર, I think originally it is Avesta han-kāra from han, ५) Gr. Sym, syn, together with, and kara ५) work. The word would mean "one who makes all joined together." King Kavi Husrava (Kaikhosru) is spoken of as han-kerena i.e., "one who made all together into one". This seems to be a reference to the establishment of a Postal Department. ૫) har-kareh (properly speaking, han-kareh), a messenger, a postman, being one who brings distant places into a closer contact. Cyrus, who is spoken of by some, as being the same as Kai Khusru, is known to have established the system of couriers, or a kind of postal department in his dominions. His postmen were these har-karehs or han-karehs. The letter 'n' can be read in Pahlavi as 'r'. Hence 'hankareh' has become har-kareh.

³¹⁹ Bruce's Annals III, p. 401. ³²⁰ Ibid, p. 407.

There arose, at times, some differences between the Ambassador Sir W. Norris and the Consul Sir N. Waite, because the latter wished that Sir W. Norris, when at the Court of the Mogul, may use all his influence against Sir John Gayer and his officers who were imprisoned, but Sir W. Norris did not like to be unreasonable. Again, Sir N. Waite hesitated to advance indefinitely for the expenses of the embassy, money which had, in a short time, amounted to Rs. 3,55,179.

Sir W. Norris went in a procession to see the Emperor on 28th April 1701. By this time, Sir Nicholas Waite had created a bad impression about him at home. The Directors of his English Company "disapproved of the intemperence of Sir Nicholas Waite, in his interferences with the Governor of Surat, which had augmented the oppressions Sir John Gayer and President Colt had experienced, without serving any useful purpose."³²¹

We learn from Bruce's Annals³²² that Sir William Norris, whom *Places touched by Rustam Manock on his way with the Ambassador to the Mogul Court.* Rustam Manock had accompanied passed through the following places after leaving Surat on the 26th January 1701 :

Arrived at—

1. Kokely, 66 miles from Surat, on 8th February 1701.
2. Bencolee 14th February.
3. Gelgawn near Aurangabad 19th February.
4. Damondavee 21st February.
5. Brampore 3rd March.
6. Parnella, the Camp of Aurangzeb, 7th April.

The date of the Embassy to the Court of Aurangzeb comes to, as we saw above, about 1701³² A.C. The author of the *Qisseh* gives no dates of all the events. Other later writers give the date as 1660. Mr. Ratanji Framji Wacha gives the date of Rustam Manock's visit to the Mogul Court as 1029

The date of the visit of Rustam and the Ambassador to the Mogul Court. Error of three Parsi writers.

³²¹ *Ibid*, p. 446. ³²² Vol. III, p. 404 *et seq.*

³²³ *પ્રબંધો* (1874), p. 429.

Yazdajardi, i.e., 1660 A.C. Bomanji B. Patel follows suit and gives the same year.³²⁴ Jalbhoy Seth, Rustam Manock's descendant, also gives the same date,³²⁵ following Mr. B. B. Patel, whose help he acknowledges. But all seem to err. Rustam died in 1721 aged 86. So, the event of the visit as given by these three Parsi writers, viz., 1660, must be taken as having occurred 61 years before his death, when he was aged only 25. The date is erroneous, because the event occurred late in his life, after the sack of Surat and after Aurangzeb imposed the Jaziye tax as described in the Qisseh. Again, the age of 25 is too young for Rustam to have acquired all the necessary influence at Surat to be appointed a broker and to go as an influential personage, with the English envoy to the Mogul Court.³²⁵

Sir William Norris's Embassy at Aurangzeb's Court failed, because various reasons interfered in the complete success of the Embassy, though the Ambassador stayed long and spent a good deal of money on the upkeep of his camp and on presents, properly speaking bribes, to the Mogul officers. The principal point of failure was the insistence on the part of the Emperor that the Ambassador should give a guarantee for the safety at sea of Pilgrims' and Merchants' vessels. So the Ambassador left the Mogul Court at Panella on 5th November 1701. The various factories expressed their displeasure at the failure of the Embassy in receiving proper *farman*s. Among the faults of the Ambassador, one was said to be his disrespect to Asad Khan, the Prime Minister (*vazir*) at Burhanpore, where he did not pay the customary visit to him. Some time before the Ambassador's departure, "the Mogul's Ministers . . . sent by Rustum the broker, the obligation required by the Emperor, for the Ambassador's signature, which he refused, on the principle that, if granted, it would bring an incalculable demand on the English Company which must ruin their affairs."^{325a}

³²⁴ Parsee Prakash I, p. 23.

³²⁵ શેઠ બાલદાસના વંશવૃક્ષ (Genealogy of the Seth Family) p. 3.

^{325a} Bruce's Annals, Vol. III, pp. 468-9.

The Ambassador, while returning, was stopped after three days' march, on the ground that he had left without the Emperor's *dusticks*³²⁶ or passes, those that he had already with him being those of inferior officers. He was asked to wait for two days, but, at the end of the period, not hearing from the Court, he proceeded further and arrived at Burhānpore on 14th November 1701 and left it on 22nd November. But he was shortly compelled to return to Burhānpore. On 28th November, he learnt "that orders had been sent to Surat, for the seizure of the property of the old London Company and the persons of their servants"³²⁷. On 2nd December, "he was informed, that, at the recommendation of Gazedee Khan (the Mogul's Chief General) the Phirmaunds would be granted, and a demand was made of a sum of money, for the intercession of this officer."³²⁸ On the 4th February 1702, he was informed by Gazedee Khan, "that he had received a letter and sword from the Emperor, for the King of England, with a promise, that the Phirmaunds should be sent in a short time."³²⁹ He left Burhānpore for Surat on 5th February 1702. In connection with this matter, we read as follows:—

"Rustum, the broker, was detained by the Emperor's orders, but was directed by the Ambassador, not to sign any obligation, or give any further sums of money, on account of the Embassy. Sir William Norris, at this time, promised to Gazedee Khan, that should the Phirmaunds be granted (besides the two thousand three hundred gold mohurs, which he had actually paid to him) he should be farther remunerated with a lack and a half, and his brother, with twenty thousand rupees."^{329a} The mention of Rustam's name several times by Bruce in the account of Norris's embassy to the Mogul Court, clearly shows that the unnamed *kolah posh* or *Angrez* of the Persian Qisseh, in whose company Rustam Manock went to the

³²⁶ دستک dastak, lit. "a little hand"; a pass, passport, permission (Steingass). I think the word may be a corruption or contraction of dastkhat (دستخط) handwriting, signature.

³²⁷ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 471. ³²⁸ Ibid, p. 471. ³²⁹ Ibid, p. 471.

^{329a} Ibid, pp. 471-72.

Mogul Court was Sir William Norris. The detention of Rustam Manock by the Emperor shows that he was held to be a prominent member of Sir W. Norris's Embassy. Sir William Norris reached Surat on 12th April 1702 and "on the 18th waited on the new Governor.....and obtained permission for Nicholas Waite to go out of the city, in which he had been confined since the Ambassador left the Court." ³³⁰

Sir William Norris left Surat with 13 persons of his retinue for England on 29th April 1702, paying Rs. 10,000 for his passage on a special ship. His brother, Mr. Norris, who was the Secretary of the Embassy, and 14 others of his suite went on board another ship which carried cargo of Rs. 60,000 for the Company and Rs. 87,200 for Sir William Norris. Sir William Norris and Sir Nicholas Waite did not part on good terms. Sir William "declined to deliver to Sir Nicholas Waite, a copy of his diary or papers, though he gave up his horses, camel, oxen and elephant, to be sold, on the Company's account." ^{330a} From the time when the Ambassador left the Mogul Court. Sir Nicholas Waite began to charge in his dispatches to his English Company, the Ambassador of "imprudence of his conduct..... but promised to obtain the Phirmaunds through the means of the broker, without the condition of Security-Bonds," ³³¹ which wanted to throw the responsibility of acts of piracy on the English Company. Here again we see that Rustam Manock was an influential personage in the eye of the English factory. Sir Nicholas Waite in his report, after referring to the causes of the failure of the Embassy, said that the Embassy had cost, in all, Rs. 676, 800 "and that the Phirmaunds still remained to be purchased." ^{331a}

II. The state of affairs after the visit and after the return of the Ambassador's return to England. Rustam's association with those affairs.

During this time, some attempts were made at home to unite the two Companies. The attempts came to maturity in 1702-1703. More earnest measures were made, with the despatch of new Men-of-War to suppress the pirates. "The Court hoped, that this measure

*Union of
the two Com-
panies.*

³³⁰ *Ibid*, p. 472. ^{330a} *Ibid*, pp. 472. ³³¹ *Ibid*, p. 477. ^{331a} *Ibid*.

would counteract the misrepresentations to the Mogul Government, which Sir Nicholas Waite had so improperly made, that the London Company had been secretly connected with the pirates.”³³² Sir Nicholas Waite received a formal intimation of the Union of the two Companies whose separate stocks were to cease to exist from 22nd July 1702. He “was required to use his best endeavours to relieve Sir John Gayer, and the London Company’s servants, from the restraints under which they had been placed.”³³³ In case, the Mogul Government pressed for compensation for the depredations by the pirates, “he was directed to retire with the English Company’s effects, to Bombay, that Island being now the joint property of both Companies.”³³⁴

During this interval, “though several months had elapsed since the Embassy left Surat, for Europe, Sir Nicholas Waite continued to ascribe to Sir William Norris, the failure of the negotiation, and to raise the hopes of the Court, that he would procure the Phirmaunds through the interest of Gazedeer Khan.”³³⁵ He was against the Union of the two Companies, but, when formal intimation of the Union was conveyed to him, he accepted the position and “assumed a formal civility to Sir John Gayer, which was returned, as formally; neither, evidently, placing any reliance on ceremonies to which each submitted.”^{335a}

Sir John Gayer notified the Union “to the (Mogul) Government of Surat, as an event which, he trusted, would draw away all future opposition of English interests :—this act of duty was interpreted, by Sir Nicholas Waite, to be unfriendly to the interests of the English Company, and to it, he ascribed the stop which has been put to the Phirmaunds passing the Mogul’s Great Seal.”³³⁶ He then consulted the other Presidencies, “whether he should take any further steps to obtain the Phirmaunds, because the estimated expenses of procuring them, would amount to the sum of Rs. 3,20,000, and he did not know whether they could be carried to the separate stock of the English Company, or to the United Stock; meantime, that he revoked the powers given to Rustum, the broker, to defray these charges, even should he be able to obtain the Phirmaunds. In reply, those Presidencies

³³² *Ibid*, p. 493. ³³³ *Ibid*, p. 512. ³³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 513. ³³⁵ *Ibid*, p. 519.

^{335a} *Ibid*. ³³⁶ *Ibid*, pp. 519-20.

gave it as their opinion, that, as the Phirmaunds would apply to both Companies, now United, they did not consider the expenses, as any reason for precluding him from soliciting them, as they were grants of so much importance to the trade of India." ³³⁷

Sir Nicholas Waite, after being informed of the Union by the Court in England, had, as said above, "expressed his resolution to observe a friendly intercourse with Sir John Gayer and his Council..... but that Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended, in obtaining the Ambassador's pardon from the Mogul." ³³⁸ The pardon was for his want of courtesy in leaving the Mogul Court without passports from the Emperor— an act for which he was detained at Burhānpore. Bruce thinks "that further negotiation for Phirmaunds, was a pretext, only; as the obtaining them would not have answered the purposes for which they were solicited" ³³⁹ "Consul Pitt, and the Council at Masulipatam, still continued under the deception that Sir Nicholas Waite would be able to obtain the Phirmaunds." ^{339a}

On the foundation of the United East India Company, Sir John Gayer was re-appointed "General and Governor of Bombay," ³⁴⁰ Mr. Burinston, Deputy Governor, and Sir Nicholas Waite, President at Surat. "To prevent the recurrence of animosities, the Consular powers of Sir Nicholas Waite were revoked, as being, from the Union, no longer necessary." ³⁴¹ Sir John Gayer was ordered to go to "the seat of Government at Bombay." ³⁴² From 22nd July 1702 "all charges were to be defrayed by the United Stock." ³⁴³ Further, "it was ordered, that an exact account should be taken of the sums which had been extorted from the London Company, as compensation for the piracies; but if the Phirmaunds had not been obtained by Sir Nicholas Waite, all farther negotiation respecting them was to terminate." ³⁴⁴

"When the Court (of Directors), towards the close of the season, were informed that the Phirmaunds had not been procured, they held it to be a fortunate circumstance, because it would

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 520. ³³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 520. ³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 521. ^{339a} *Ibid.*, p. 522.
³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 531. ³⁴¹ *Ibid.* ³⁴² *Ibid.* ³⁴³ *Ibid.* ³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 532.

prevent the payment of the large sums demanded for them, which must have embarrassed the English Company, and might have protracted the final settlement of the Union, which both Companies were solicitous to complete, previously to the lapse of the prescribed seven years.”³⁴⁵ As to the brokers, it was ordered that “the leading rule must be, to check all combinations among their brokers, and to endeavour to recover from them all debts incurred either in the sales of European, or the purchase of Indian produce.”³⁴⁶

In spite of the Union, differences between Sir John Gayer and Sir Nicholas Waite continued. The former's invitation to the latter for presence, when the inventory of the Dead Stock of the London Company was taken, was refused. One of the grounds for doing so, was that “Sir John Gayer, by notifying the Union to the Governor of Surat (the Phirmaunds not having been obtained) had brought on a misunderstanding, which might be prejudicial to the English Company's affairs.”³⁴⁷ We find from the proceedings of the next year (1704-5) that “the most decided approbation was given to Sir John Gayer and his Council,”³⁴⁸ by the Court at home and there was “the most marked disapprobation of Sir Nicholas Waite's conduct.”³⁴⁹ Again, Sir N. Waite was censured for not assisting in the taking of the inventory of the Dead Stocks of both Companies.³⁵⁰ During this year 1704-5, the Home authorities, at first, were in doubt, whether Sir John Gayer was released by the Mogul Governor or not. So, to provide for the contingency or his still being in prison, they “provided, that should Sir John Gayer remain a prisoner at Surat, when the instructions arrived, or for three months subsequently to that period, then Sir Nicholas Waite instead of being President at Surat, should act as General (of Bombay), provisionally, and employ his utmost efforts for the release of Sir John Gayer, and for recovering the Security-Bonds extorted formerly from President Annesley.”³⁵¹

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 532. ³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 533.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 542. ³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 556.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 557.

³⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 564.

The Mogul Governor of Surat, not being able to know “whether
R u s t a m Sir John Gayer, or Sir Nicholas Waite, was the
Manock deput- chief officer of the United Company.....
ed by Sir N. demanded evidence of the fact from both. Sir
Waite for a pri- John Gayer, on this emergency, requested Sir N.
ate visit to Waite to send an agent from the English Com-
the Governor. pany, to meet one from the London Company, that they might
together wait on the Governor, and state to him, that Sir John
Gayer was the General of the United Company.”³⁵² But, instead
of complying with this request, Waite “sent Rustum, his broker,
privately to the Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had
been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir
John Gayer must be confined, and a proper guard placed over
the London Company’s Factory, if the Mogul Government
intended to recover money for the damages done by the
pirates, amounting to eighty lacks of rupees; and, at the same
time, seconded this iniquitous proceeding, by sending him a bribe
of twenty-seven thousand rupees.”³⁵³

The Mogul Governor, taking this to be true, “asked Mr. Bonnell,
and another Member of the English Company’s
Sir John Gayer’s Council, whether, Sir John Gayer³⁵⁴ should be allow-
confinement. ed to go to Bombay (as he was no longer General),
the English Company would become bound for the debts
due by the London Company:—Sir Nicholas Waite.....
preferred the expedient of refusing to become bound for
the debts of the London Company and left their General to his
fate:—the immediate consequence was, that Sir John Gayer and
the London Company’s servants, were kept in more close con-
finement.”³⁵⁵ “Mr. Burnstone, the Deputy Governor of Bombay,
and Commodore Harland who commanded the men of war, on
hearing of this event not only remonstrated but addressed letters
to the Governor of Surat, assuring him that Sir John Gayer was,

³⁵² *Ibid*, p. 565. ³⁵³ *Ibid*, p. 565.

³⁵⁴ Sir John Gayer’s arrival at Surat from England has been thus given
in a Gujarati Jamaspi; “સંવત ૧૭૫૦ માહ રોજ ૫ માહા રોજ શીજન ગેર શીજન વેસાત
આવેઆ ઉ એદન” i.e., In Samvat 1750, on roz 5, mah 6, Shajan (i.e., Sir John)
Gayer Signor (i.e., an European gentleman) has come to-day from London.
(*Vide* my Pahlavi Translations, Part III, Jamaspi. Preface, p. XX.)

³⁵⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 565-66.

in fact, the General of the United Company in India, and that the reports of Rustum, and of Sir Nicholas Waite, were not only in opposition to the orders which had been received from the Court of Managers, but absolutely false, and, therefore, demanded that Sir John Gayer might be released."³⁵⁶ Sir John Gayer's confinement was ordered for three years. Alarmed at this letter, the Mogul Governor asked Sir N. Waite to pass "a Bond of Security that he would immediately proceed to Bombay, and, in the event of any of the Surat ships being taken, deliver them up."³⁵⁷ Both, Sir John Gayer and Sir N. Waite, wrote letters to the Court of Managers in England against one another.

Then, when, according to the above bond, Sir N. Waite asked from Commodore Harland for a ship to come to Bombay, the latter refused. So, he came to Bassein by land and then took a country vessel for Bombay where he arrived in November 1704. He took up the Acting Governorship of Bombay and sent a long report about Bombay to London. In it, he reported that he "had nominated Rustum to be broker for the United Trade."³⁵⁸ Then, in one of his reports, he said "that, in future, a Factor or two, and a few Writers, would be perfectly sufficient for the management of the United Trade at Surat, as Bombay must be made the centre of their power and trade."³⁵⁹ This is the beginning of his attempts to give Surat, a second place of importance, and Bombay, of which he was now Governor, the first place. At this time, the Dutch, retiring from Surat to Swally, had threatened to harass the trade, unless the Security Bonds for the protection of the Surat Trade from the pirates were returned to them. The bonds were returned to them. Sir N. Waite could not similarly force the return of the Security Bonds from the English, because, he had no sufficient force to blockade the river at Surat. However, he obtained "a promise from the Governor to deliver up the Security Bonds and to use his influence to obtain a new Phirmaund."^{359a} Commodore Harland, not pulling on well with Sir N. Waite, retired from Bombay on 29th January 1705.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid*, p. 566. ³⁵⁷ *Ibid*. ³⁵⁸ *Ibid*, p. 569. ³⁵⁹ *Ibid*, p. 570. ^{359a} *Ibid*, p. 371.

In 1705-6, the affairs of the United Company, had, in no way, improved. The English Company seems to have been forced to consent to the Union. It was after some years after the first Union, that both the Companies were to cease as separate concerns with separate management. So, the English Company's Directors, at times, sent instructions opposed to the Union. Sir N. Waite continued the use of his influence for strict measures for Sir John Gayer's confinement. The Directors of the English Company encouraged Sir N. Waite in his attempts to hold and grasp further powers for himself and the English Company.³⁶⁰ It appears that, at this time (in 1705-6), "the Governor of Surat was equally indisposed against all the European Companies."³⁶¹ "Six Dutch ships had arrived off Surat, and blockaded the port, on which the (Mogul) Governor ordered the Members of the English Council to be confined within the city, and supplies of provisions and water withheld from the shipping."³⁶² Again, "the Mogul's army in December 1705, was within three days' march of the Coast, opposite the island of Bombay,"³⁶³ and Sir Nicholas Waite was "in an alarm for the safety of the Company's property."³⁶⁴ Again, the Mahrathas "in April 1706 invested the City of Surat, for nine days."³⁶⁵

By this time, there arose a friction between Sir Nicholas Waite and Rustam. "While he was President at Surat, Rustum, whom, from his first arrival, he had employed as broker, continued, from interested motives, attached to his views; but after he assumed the office of General at Bombay, this cautious Native, discovering that his object was to make that Island the centre of trade explained to Mr. Bonnel and Mr. Proby, the English Company's servants at Surat, that Sir Nicholas Waite had promised to give him fifty thousand rupees, to use his influence with the Governor, to keep Sir John Gayer confined, which sum was to be paid to him, individually, by advances, on the prices of the Company's goods, to that account. When Sir Nicholas Waite was informed of this conduct of Rustum, he dismissed him from the English Company's employment, notwithstanding the United Trade

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 586. ³⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 593. ³⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 594. ³⁶³ *Ibid.* ³⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

was then indebted to him 1,40,000 rupees, and the separate Companies 5,50,000 rupees and if the Surat Council had not prevailed on the merchants to take their bills, the whole property of the English would have been seized.^{365a}

“ This state of affairs between Nicholas Waite and Mr. Proby, would not but produce animosities :—the former began by protesting against the conduct of the latter and of Mr. Bonnell, and they retaliated, by declaring, in their letters to the Court, that it was impracticable to procure regular investment, under the contradictory orders which Sir Nicholas Waite sent to them, and, in fact, it was impossible to execute them ; and, therefore, unless Rustum should be restored they neither could be responsible for the Company’s property, nor their own liberty. Under such an administration it may be easily supposed that neither the stock of the United Company could be safe, nor their investments forwarded ; and farther, to second their application in favour of Rustum, Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell accused Sir Nicholas Waite of procuring goods, at cheaper rates for himself, than for the Company, and of having purchased one hundred and forty four bales of indigo, on his private account, contrary to the positive orders of the Court.”³⁶⁶ While affairs were in this state at Surat, Sir Nicholas Waite reported to the Court, that Bombay was weak in the matter of soldiers and that fresh European soldiers may be sent.

Coming to the year 1706-7, Bruce speaks of “ the consequences of the unwise proceedings by which Sir Nicholas Waite endangered the existence of the Company’s trade and Settlements and the weakness of the Court of Managers in still permitting him to continue in office.”³⁶⁷ The Mahratha armies were hovering about Surat. The Dutch fleet blockaded Surat and secured a release from their Security Bonds and Sir Nicholas Waite was continuing his oppression of

^{365a} *Ibid*, p. 595. ³⁶⁶ *Ibid*, p. 596. ³⁶⁷ *Ibid*, p. 614. The members of the Court of the United Company were, for some time, spoken of as Managers, those of the London Company as Committees, and those of the English Company as Directors.

the London Company's servants. His conduct "had nearly ruined their affairs."³⁶⁸ Waite complained, that "Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, the Surat Council had embezzled the Company's property, in indigo, to the value of eleven thousand rupees, and given credit to the accusations of Rustum, the broker, against him. . . . Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnell, in reply, asserted that Sir Nicholas Waite had been guilty of fraud, in making an overcharge in the purchase of the Company's goods, to the amount of thirty-five thousand rupees, and that he had promised this sum to Rustum, the broker, if he would use his influence with the Governor, to detain Sir John Gayer, and the London Company's Council, in confinement."³⁶⁹ This passage shows that the relations between Sir N. Waite and Rustam Manock continued to be a estranged.

The Council of the United East India Company transferring itself to the quarters rented by Rustam.

By this time, the United Council (*i.e.*, the Council of the United East India Company) was formed as follows :—

Mr. Bendall (Old London Company's Servant)	President.
Mr. Proby (New English Company's Servant)	Second

Mr. Wyche (London Company's)	Third.
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Mr. Boone (English Company's)	Fourth.
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Sir Nicholas Waite did not approve of these nominations. The United Council, immediately on appointment, removed to the English Company's factory at Surat, which Rustam had secured for the English Factory for Rs. 3,000 per year. They also "requested the Court's protection against the malicious representations of Sir Nicholas Waite, under whose orders they regretted they had been unfortunately placed."³⁷⁰ Sir N. Waite, in his representation to the Court, asked for more Officers and Writers. He also asked for more soldiers, as he had to hire Topasses.³⁷¹

³⁶⁸ *Ibid*, p. 619. ³⁶⁹ *Ibid*, p. 619. ³⁷⁰ *Ibid*, p. 620.

³⁷¹ "Portugeze Topaz, perhaps from the Hindustani Topi, a hat. A native Christian sprung from a Portuguese father and Indian mother in the south of India : in the early history of the Company, these people were extensively enlisted as soldiers ; hence, this term came to be applied to the Company's native soldiery generally in the Peninsula." (Wilson's Oriental Language Glossary of Terms, p. 525.)

President Pitt of Madras, in one of his general reports to the old Company at this time, disapproved of the Union of the two Companies, but added: "But that, considering the conduct of Sir Nicholas Waite, and the license which had been given him, to continue his unjustifiable proceedings, which had nearly brought the Company's trade on the West Coast to a stand, it was fortunate, perhaps, that the Union had taken place; for such had been his absurd violence, that Mr. Brabourne would not accept the office of Deputy Governor of Bombay, because he would not serve under a man, whose behaviour he represented to be so absurd, that the civil servants of the Company, in that quarter, had declared they would rather be private sentinels at Fort St. George than serve as Second in Council under Sir Nicholas Waite."³⁷²

In 1707-8, Sir Nicholas Waite, who hitherto was encouraged "in his narrow and selfish projects of continuing himself in power; and retaining Sir John Gayer and the London Company's oldest and best servants in confinement"³⁷³ was dismissed from the service. They "appointed a new General and Council at Bombay, four of whom were to constitute the President and Council at Surat. The general instruction given to this Council was, to lay aside animosities of every kind and to exert their best endeavours for the liberation of Sir John Gayer and his Council."³⁷⁴

"The Managers of the United Trade, and the Committees of the London, and the Directors of the English Companies, adopted measures to prepare for their foreign Settlements for the Award of Lord Godolphin, which, it had been enacted should be completed before the 29th September 1708. The Court of Managers, under the circumstances, appointed a new General and Council at Bombay:—Mr. Aislabie, formerly in the London Company's service, was nominated to be General; Mr. Proby, Second in Council."³⁷⁵ This Council which was to consist of seven persons in all, were "to select four of themselves to be President and Council at Surat."³⁷⁶ Then "the Court of the London Company notified to Sir John Gayer, that Sir Nicholas Waite had been

³⁷² Bruce's Annals, Vol. III, pp. 625-26. ³⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 636. ³⁷⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid*, pp. 640-41. ³⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 641.

dismissed from the service of the United Company ; lamented his long confinement at Surat,³⁷⁷ and informed him that Mr. Aislabie. . . . had, with his Council, received the most positive orders to use every effort for his liberation. The Court of the English Company softened, as much as they could, to Sir Nicholas Waite, the event of his dismissal, by informing him that the Court of Managers had thought fit to '*discontinue*' him from being General at Bombay."³⁷⁸

A short time before this dismissal, and some time after the death of Aurangzib, when his sons fought against each other, and when the Mahrathas, under 'Som Rajah' (Sahaji) on the one hand, and the Arab fleets on the other, taking advantage of the weakness of the Mogul Power, were asserting their powers, Sir Nicholas Waite, as General at Bombay, and the Company's Agents at Surat were continuing their reciprocal animosities.³⁷⁹ Sir Nicholas Waite wanted to bring the trade from Surat to Bombay and the Surat factors opposed him in this attempt. We saw above that it was this attempt and this opposition that had led Sir N. Waite to remove Rustam from his brokershhip. The Factors at Surat complained, that "they had been obliged to contract debts on the United Company's account, to the amount, this season (1707-8) of 48,000 rupees."³⁸⁰ Under these circumstances, "any application for a Phirmaund was impracticable."³⁸¹

<i>Dates about Rustam from Bruce's Annals.</i>	We gather the following particulars and date about Rustam Manock's association with the East India Company on the authority of John Bruce's Annals : ³⁸²
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January 1700.—Rustam Manock appointed broker of the New English East India Company. In 1698, the Private Merchants of England had "renewed their former application to obtain from Parliament an Act for creating a New East India Company. The Act was passed in 1698. News of the formation

³⁷⁷ The confinement was not in any prison but in his Factory. He was not allowed to go out. ³⁷⁸ Bruce's Annals, III, pp. 641-642. ³⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p. 650.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid*, p. 650. ³⁸¹ *Ibid*, p. 651. ³⁸² Annals of the Honorable East India Company from their Establishment by the Charter of Queen Elizabeth 1600, to the Union of the London and English East India Companies 1707-8, by John Bruce, Vol. III (1810).

of the new Company arrived at Fort St. George on 28th October 1698. Sir Nicholas Waite, who was appointed the first President of this Company at Surat, arrived off Bombay on 11th January 1700. He arrived at Surat on 19th January 1700. As he employed Rustam as broker from the very time of his arrival at Surat, we arrive at the latter end of January 1700, as the date of Rustam's appointment as broker.

20th January 1701.—Rustam Manock left Surat for the Mogul Court in the Company of Sir William Norris, the Ambassador from the English Court. Sir William Norris had landed at Masalipatam on 25th September 1699. From there, he went to Surat and arrived there on 10th December 1700, and left Surat for the Mogul Court on 20th January 1701. Rustam accompanied him.

7th April 1701.—Sir William Norris and Rustam Manock arrived at Parnella, the seat of Aurangzeb's camp.

28th April 1701.—Sir William Norris went to Aurangzib's Court in a procession and paid a formal visit to pay respects. It was during the interval between 7th April, the date of arrival at Parnella, and 28th April, the date of the formal official visit, that Rustam Manock must have made the presents from the Ambassador, and, perhaps, from himself also, as said by the Qisseh, to the Prime Minister and other Officials of the Court. It was at this visit that Rustam Manock seems to have interpreted the desire of the Ambassador and asked for a farmān, etc.

5th November 1701.—Sir William Norris remaining at Parnella for about 7 months, left the Mogul Court to return to Surat.

8th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam detained on the road, after 3 days' march from the Emperor's camp, on the ground, that Norris had left the camp without a pass from the Emperor himself, the one that he had being from an inferior officer.

14th November 1701.—Sir W. Norris and Rustam reached Burhānpore.

22nd November—Both left Burhānpore, but were obliged to return at the instance of the Governor of Burhānpore.

5th February 1701.—Sir William Norris left Burhānpore for Surat, but “Rustam, the broker, was detained at the Emperor’s orders.” Rustam seems to have been detained by the Emperor, because being an important personage of the Embassy, he may be nearer the Court to receive final orders about the *farmān*, etc.

February-March 1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite “revoked the powers given to Rustam, the broker, to defray the charges” of obtaining *farmāns*.

1701.—Sir Nicholas Waite informed the Court of Directors that “Rustum, the broker, had made a claim for sums expended in obtaining the Ambassador’s pardon from the Mogul.”³⁸³ This pardon refers to the fault of the Ambassador having left the Court suddenly without a pass from the Emperor.

1704.—When Sir John Gayer was appointed the General of the United Company, Sir Nicholas Waite “sent Rustum, his broker, privately to the (Mogul) Governor, to insinuate that Sir John Gayer had been displaced, that he, himself, was the General, and that Sir John Gayer must be confined³⁸⁴” and he sent to the Governor a bribe of 27,000 rupees. Thereupon, Mr. Burniston, the Deputy Governor of Bombay and Commodore Harland, sent assurances to the Governor “that the reports of Rustum and Sir Nicholas Waite.....were absolutely false.”³⁸⁵

November 1704.—Sir Nicholas Waite reported to the Court at Home that he had also “nominated Rustam to be broker for the United Trade.”

1705.—Some time after his being Governor of Bombay, when he tried to make Bombay the Headquarter of the United Company, he dismissed Rustam “from the English Company’s employment notwithstanding the United Trade was then indebted to him 1,40,000 Rupees and the separate Companies 5,50,000 rupees.”³⁸⁶ The Surat Officer, Mr. Proby, protested and wrote: “Unless Rustam should be restored, they neither could be responsible for the Company’s property, nor their own liberty and further, to second their application in favour of Rustum, Mr. Proby and Mr. Bonnel accused Sir Nicholas Waite of procuring goods at cheaper rates for himself than for the Company.”^{386(a)}

³⁸³ *Ibid*, p. 520. ³⁸⁴ *Ibid*, p. 565. ³⁸⁵ *Ibid*, p. 561. ³⁸⁶ *Ibid*, p. 595.

^{386(a)} *Ibid*.

We learn from the Qisseh that Rustam Manock had asked for several privileges on behalf of the English and they were granted. Some of the subjects of these privileges, referred to in Bruce's Annals, are the following :

Subjects referred to in Rustam Manock's Qisseh confirmed by Bruce's Annals.

- (1) House for the English Factory.
- (2) Warehouses.
- (3) Free ingress into and egress from the city.
- (4) Presents to the officers of the Mogul Court.
- (5) The Farmān or order of temporary concession.

The Qisseh says that Rustam Manock secured a palatial house for the English Company at Surat, with an iram-³⁸⁷ like garden (c. 347) on the bank of the river (Tapti). It was a place for residence as well as a place for trade. It was rented from Haji Hajaz Beg for Rs. 3,000 per year (c. 359). This is the house referred to in Bruce's Annals more than once. It is "the house which he (Sir Nicholas Waite) hired"³⁸⁸ and on which he wanted "to hoist the King's flag."³⁸⁹ to get permission for which Sir N. Waite had to give a large present to the Mogul King.³⁹⁰ We learn from Bruce that there was, as it were, a battle of flags between the two rival East India Companies. At first, the old Company had hoisted the King's flag. Sir W. Nicholas contrived to get it dismounted. This offended, not only the officers of the old Company, but also the Nawab or Governor of Surat, because the dismounting was done without his permission. The old Company re-hoisted the flag. This desire on the part of Sir N. Waite to hoist the King's flag on his factory supplies the reason, why he wanted, and why Rustam Manock secured for him, a really good large house. According to Bruce, Sir N. Waite desired to have in the *farman* from the Emperor, the "liberty of trade, and to settle Factories in any ports in the Mogul's dominions ;—to have free ingress and egress for himself and Council, without search ; to have license to hire or

³⁸⁷ "dda ۛ)" iram, the fabulous gardens said to have been devised by Shaddad bin 'Ad in emulation of the gardens of paradise". (Steingass.)

³⁸⁸ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 370. ³⁸⁹ *Ibid.* ³⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 370.

build a house and warehouses”³⁹¹ The question of the house seemed to have been so important that Sir N. Waite, in one of his letters, to the Directors, said, that “the house was commodious, and situated nearer the Custom-house than that of the London Company.”³⁹² Just as the Qisseh speaks of this act of hiring a house as the very first act of Rustam Manock after being employed as broker, Bruce speaks of Sir Nicholas Waite’s removal of “the flag of the London Company” and that of hoisting “the King’s flag” on his newly rented house as “the first measure of Sir Nicholas Waite” after his arrival at Surat.³⁹³

This house is the house, now owned by the heirs of the late Dr. Dossabhoy Cooper, who was an Honorary Surgeon to H. E. the Viceroy. I remember that, when I once paid a visit to Dr. Dossabhoy, about 10 years ago, he spoke, with some pride, of being the fortunate possessor of the house of the English East India Company. There is no doubt that Dr. Dossabhoy’s house is the house of the English Factory. On my making inquiries about the subsequent history of the house, through Mr. Cowasji Burjorji Vakil, the President of the Parsee Panchayet of Surat, Dr. Dossabhoy’s son, Mr. A. Dossabhoy Cooper, wrote to Mr. Cowasji Vakil in his letter dated 6th July 1928 : “It (the house) belonged before our purchase to some relations of the Nabob of Cambay, who must be blood relations of the Surat Nabob family. It seems to have changed ownership by marriage dowry.....It was purchased by father from one Mirza Bakuralli *valad e* Mirza Mogul Beg.....I cannot say whether Haji Hajaz Beg was related to the above (Mirza Mogul Beg), but it looks likely. I also cannot clearly identify the building secured for factory by one Rustam Manock of Surat for Rs. 3,000 per annum..... But if the building was hired for English it can be none other than the one we now possess.”³⁹⁴

Dr. Dossabhoy, the father of the present owners,
The Tablet on put up on the house a tablet with the
the House at following Inscription in English and Gujarati :
present.

³⁹¹ *Ibid*, p. 397. ³⁹² *Ibid*, p. 407. ³⁹³ *Ibid*, p. 370. ³⁹⁴ After the above correspondence I had the pleasure of seeing the house again, and I think it is the very house rented by Rustam Manock for the English East India Company’s Factory.

"The English Factory originally built in A.D. 1618 under a treaty made with Prince Khurram (Shah Jahan) son of the Emperor Jahangir, through the ambassador Sir Thomas Roe, it withstood a siege by the Marathas under Shivaji in A.D. 1664, and was again attacked by the Marathas in A.D. 1703. It ceased to be used for its original purpose after Surat was annexed by the British in A.D. 1800."

“અંગ્રેજોની કોઠી.”

આ કોઠી જંગીર બાદશાહના શાહજહાં પુરમ (શાહજહાં) ની સાથે અંગ્રેજોના એલચી સર થોમસ રોની મારફત થયેલા તહતામાની રૂએ પ્રથમ સને ૧૬૧૮માં બાંધવામાં આવી હતી. આ કોઠીને સને ૧૬૬૪માં મરાઠાઓએ ચીવાજીની સરદારી હેઠળ ઘેરો ઘાલ્યો હતો જે ઉઠાવવામાં આવ્યો હતો. આ કોઠીને મરાઠાઓએ સન ૧૭૦૩માં ફરીથી ઘેરો ઘાલ્યો હતો. અંગ્રેજોએ સુરતને પોતાના રાજ્ય સાથે સન ૧૮૦૦માં જોડી દીધું ત્યારથી આ ઇમારત કોઠી તરીકે વપરાતી બંધ થઈ.

The inscription, which is put up very recently is altogether faulty. The house had nothing to do with Khurram or his father Jahangir. The embassy of Thomas Roe at his court was not a success. The late owner, Dr. Dossabhoy, seems to have mixed up the later Embassy of Sir William Norris to the Court of Aurangzeb with that of Thomas Roe to the Court of Jahangir.

Rustam Manock applied for permission to have warehouses (ambar-khāneh c. 378). He prays that both, the factory for business trade (kā-r-i tojārat) and the warehouses may be on the same place. We find from Bruce's Annals that Sir Nicholas Waite, in his letters, asks for "a license to hire or build a house and warehouses."³⁹⁵ An inspection of the house, even at present, shows us that by the side of the house and connected with it are large commodious warehouses.

During his visit to the Mogul Court with the Ambassador, (3) Rustam Manock's appeal to Aurangzeb for free ingress and egress for the English Factors. Rustam Manock pleads for the privilege of free ingress and egress for the Factors at Surat. He complains (c. 375) that the nobles of the Court of His Majesty do not permit a free ingress into the city (of Surat).

ولی دخل ند بند این را بشهر امیران درگاه والا بمهر

³⁹⁵ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 397.

We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Nicholas Waite, in one of his very first letters; asks for "free ingress and egress for himself and Council without search."³⁹⁶ It seems that, to a certain extent, they had an "ingress and egress," but they had always to pass through a search by Mogul Custom House officers. They prayed, through Rustam Manock, for a privilege to be saved from this search, as they had now and then to go to their ships at the Swally bunder.

We learn from the Qisseh, that before going into the presence of the Emperor, Rustam Manock (on behalf of the English) gave large presents (nazrāneh o tohfa-i setorg c. 379), and thereby pleased all the courtiers as well as the king (Sultān). These gifts and presents made way (rāh kard) for the acceptance of his requests for privileges. We find the following references to the presentation of gifts and presents to the Emperor and his Court officers in the Annals of Bruce :

(4) *Presents to the Officers of the Mogul Court.*

(a) "His (Sir Nicholas Waite's) opinion was that the Ambassador might give to the Mogul, and his ministers, besides the presents, a sum not exceeding two lacks of rupees :—he then enumerated the principal officers of the Mogul, to whom portions of this sum were to be offered ; seven of whom must be bribed high, to conciliate them to the interests of the English Company. In conducting the negociation, he cautioned the Ambassador, if he expected to succeed, not to dispute with the officers of the Mogul, on the ceremonies or precedence, to which Ambassadors in Europe were habituated, because, in the Mogul Empire, such forms could not be admitted."³⁹⁷

(b) Sir William Norris, when at Damondavee on 21st February 1701, on his way to the Mogul Court, "received authority from Sir Nicholas Waite, to pay such sums as might be necessary to obtain the privileges, it being advisable to give any amount for them, before the arrival of Dr. Davenant (a Factor of the rival London East India Company), who might counteract the whole of the negotiation ; and to induce the Mogul to accede to his requests, he was empowered to offer six thousand maunds of lead, per annum, at six rupees per maund."³⁹⁸

³⁹⁶ Bruce's Annals, III, p. 397. ³⁹⁷ Annals, III, pp. 403-04. ³⁹⁸ *Ibid*, III, p. 405.

The Qisseh says that Aurangzib, on hearing Rustam Manock on behalf of the English, ordered his minister Asad Khan, that a *manshūr*, i.e., a royal mandate, might be given to the *kolah-posh* (Englishman). Asad Khan ordered a writer (*dabīr*) to prepare a farman permitting the English to have (a) egress into the city of Surat, (b) a mansion and store-house (*makān o sarā*)³⁹⁹, (c) an exemption from custom duties (*ba mal-i tojārat zakātash ma'af*. c. 388). The *farmān* was prepared and the king put his jewelled seal on it (*bar ān mohr-i khūd kard Shah ba nagīn* c. 389). The king gave the signed document to his Dastur, i.e., minister, who sent it to the English (Angrez) at the hands of a messenger (*chawash*). The Englishman was pleased when he received the *farmān* and turned with permission (*as razāyash be taft*, c. 391) towards Surat. He took the way towards Surat and Rustam went in another direction. Now, the last part of this account is not on all fours with what had happened according to the English account. It seems that what was given was not a regular *farmān*. A *farmān* was promised, but not actually given but some temporary concessions seem to have been provisionally granted. We learn from Bruce's Annals, that Sir Edward Littleton, "Consul for the English nation in Bengal" had made all possible efforts "to assist the Embassy of Sir William Norris and to purchase temporary grants, to carry on trade till the Phirmaund could be obtained"⁴⁰⁰

XI

5. Rustam Manock's Visit, during his Return Journey from the Mogul Court, to (a) Danda Rajpuri. (b) Daman and (c) Naosari.

According to the Qisseh, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary privileges for the English, parted from the Englishman who went direct to Surat. He, before returning to Surat, visited the following places: (a) Dandah-i Rajpuri, (b) Daman, and (c) Naosari.

³⁹⁹ The word *sarā* means "a house, an inn." The Gujarati translator translates as "a warehouse" (ગુજરાતી અંગ્રેજી શબ્દકોશ, c. 386.)

⁴⁰⁰ Annals, III, pp. 414-5.

These visits are briefly referred to in the *Qisseh*. The visit to Naosari was from a religious point of view, viz., to pray, before the Atash Behram, the Fire-Temple of the first grade, for giving thanks for his successful mission to the Mogul Court. The visit to Dandeh-i Rajpuri may be either from the point of view of being useful in some way to the English Company, whose broker he was or from his own personal point of view as a financier, merchant, or broker. This place, situated on the sea-coast at the distance of a few miles from Bombay, played a very important part in the history of the Moguls, the Mahrathas and the British. Rustam's visit of Daman may, most probably, be from the point of view of his being a broker of the Portuguese. So, I will speak here of Rustam's visit to these three places.

(a) Dandeh-i Rajpur, c. 394.

According to the *Qisseh*, Rustam Manock, after obtaining the necessary permission from Aurangzib for the English, parted from the Englishman, who went direct to Surat. He went, at first to Dandeh-i Rajpur, where he was welcomed by Yāqub Khan. This place is not much known nowadays, but, at one time, the history of Aurangzeb and Shivaji, of the English and the Portuguese, of Yaqub and other Sidis,⁴⁰¹ was all associated with this place. Again, at one time, the history of Rajpur, Dandeh Rajpur, Janjirā, Bombay and the Western Coast of India was closely connected. So, I will speak here on the history of the place, which will make us understand the probable cause of Rustam Manock's visit of the place.

The name of the place is written a little differently by different writers. The *Qisseh* writes it as Dāndeh-i Rājpur (داندۀ راجپور) Khafi Khan speaks of it as Dandeh Rājpurī (دندۀ راجپوری) or Dāndā Rajpuri (داندۀ راجپوری)⁴⁰². Grant Duff speaks of it as "Dhunda Rajepoor."⁴⁰³

⁴⁰¹ Africans and especially the Abyssinians were known by this name.

⁴⁰² Muntakhab-al-Lubab by Maulavi Ahmed. Bengal Asiatic Society, Ed. (1874), Vol. II, pp. 113, 1.5, 224, 1.3 &c. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289.

⁴⁰³ History of the Mahrathas 2nd ed. by Edwards I., p. 155, 1st. ed, p. 73.

It was at this Dāndeh Rajapuri, one of the two places—the other being Kalyan—where, before his Sack of Surat, Shivaji “mustered his forces in two concentration camps with the ostensible object of a campaign against the Portuguese at Cheul and Bassein and a final struggle with the Abyssinians at Janjira. The real motive for this concentration of his forces, however, was a sudden march upon Surat and the sack of that emporium of trade on the western coast.”⁴⁰⁴

Rajpur or Rajapur is the country, now known as the country of the Nawab of Janjira. The Dandeh-i Rajpore
Its Situation. is the Fort of Rewadanda which is at some distance from Janjira. It is spoken of as Dandeh-i Rajpur, perhaps to distinguish it from the place, known as Danda on the sea shore, at the northern foot of the Pali Hill near Bandra.

The history of Rajpur, Dandeh-i Rajpur and Janjira is very much connected. Janjira is a rocky island on the south of Bombay at a distance of about 45 miles.⁴⁰⁵ Rajpur or Rajpuri is on the mainland separated by a creek known as the Rajpuri creek. It is about half a mile east of Janjira, which, as it were, guards the Rajpuri creek and the town and district of Rajpuri. The place known as Danda, and more commonly known as the Dandeh-i Rajpuri, is about 2 miles on the south-east of the town of Rajpuri. “But these two towns (Rajpur and Dandeh) are regarded as one place and formed the head-quarters of the land-possession of the Seedis, covering much of the Northern district of Colaba. From this tract, were drawn the revenue and provisions that nourished the government of Janjira.”⁴⁰⁶ The English opened a Factory at Rajpur in 1649, with a view to capture the pepper and cardamom trade that passed through it.

⁴⁰⁴ The Life of Shivaji Maharaj by N. S. Takakhav (1921), p. 237.

⁴⁰⁵ It was the invasion of Bombay by the Habsis (Abyssinians) of Janjira, that Rustamji Sorabji Patel is said to have repelled in 1692 (History of the Patel Family by Bomanji B. Patel). One of his descendants Rustomji Kavasji Patel, in his petition dated 25th July 1833 to the then Governor, Earl of Clare, said on this subject: “Also when the Seeddees took possession of the whole of Bombay, my ancestor Rustom Dorab Patel fought on the side of the English and was actually for three days in charge of the Government of the island” (Parsi Prakash I, p. 21 n).

⁴⁰⁶ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 331, Chap. XI.

We read the following in Khafi Khan's Muntakhab-ul-Lubab⁴⁰⁷

*Khafi Khan
on Danda-Raj-
puri and Janjira.*

“ When the Imperial Government became friendly with Bijāpūr, the Kokan, which had belonged to Nizam-ul-Mulk, was granted to Adil Shah in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijapur.

Fateh Khan, an Afghan, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijapur and he posted himself in the fort of Danda-Rajpuri,⁴⁰⁸ which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Janzira⁴⁰⁹ upon an island in the sea, about a cannon shot distant from Danda-Rajpuri, in a very secure position, so that if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place.”

Dr. John Fryer speaks of it as a “Strong Castle, environed about by the sea, but within Shot of the Main,⁴¹⁰ which Siva⁴¹¹ with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The Mogul succouring it by sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim.”⁴¹¹

Janjira, Rajpur and Dandeh Rajpur were, in the early part of the 16th century, held by the Sultans of Ahmednagar, and one of the Siddee (Habsi or Abyssinian) chieftains of Ahmednagar was appointed the Governor of Dandeh Rajpur in the early part of the 16th century. But with the fall of the Ahmednagar Sultanate in the 17th century, the Siddee ruler became well-nigh independent. In 1636, the Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged

⁴⁰⁷ Muntakhab-ul-Lubab of Khafi Khan. Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289 et seq.

⁴⁰⁸ “ Dand and Rajpuri are close together near Janjira”. *Ibid*, p. 256, n. 1.

⁴⁰⁹ “ Janzira, the island, but it is more commonly known under the Marathi form ‘ Jinjara ’. *Ibid*, p. 289, n. 2.

⁴¹⁰ *i.e.*, Mainland. ⁴¹¹ Shivaji. ⁴¹² “ A New Account of the East India and Persia in Eight Letters, being nine years' Travels, Begun 1672 and Finished 1681,” by John Fryer, M.D. (1698), p. 173.

⁴¹³ *Vide* Sarkar's Shivaji, Chap. X. For an account from the Mahratha point of view, *vide* Takakhav's Shivaji Maharaj (1921), Chap. XXVIII.

the Siddee of Janjira ⁴¹⁴ as its representative in that part of the country, on condition, that he protected the trade of Bijapur and especially the pilgrims going to Mecca. There was no hereditary succession, but, on the death of a Seedee ruler, the next officer in charge of their fleet came to the *gāli* of the district. Being excellent mariners, their commander was acknowledged as admiral by the Bijapur Sultanate, and, on its fall, by the Mogal Empire. During these early times, the seas were infested by pirates—pirates of all nationalities—English, French, Dutch, Spanish, Portuguese, Indian, etc. The Sidee of Janjira was expected by the Sultans of Ahmednagar and Bijapur and, later on, by the Mogul Emperors, to protect their trade from these pirates.⁴¹⁵

The Siddee Commander of this island, Yaqut Khan, had once attacked Bombay in about 1682 and it was at this time that the Parsee Patel, Rustamji Dorabji, known as Rustam Dorab and more popularly known for his bravery as Rustam Gendral (corrupted from General), is said to have helped the English in defending Bombay.⁴¹⁶ Some time after 1694, there appeared in Indian waters, an English pirate, named Henry Every. He captured Futteh Mahmood, a ship belonging to Abdool Gufoor, a rich merchant of Surat and also the Ganj Suwaia, belonging to the Mogul Emperor,⁴¹⁷ which carried a grand-daughter of Aurangzeb returning from the pilgrimage of Mecca. So,

⁴¹⁴ The word originally is Jazireh جزیره "island" or perhaps it may be Pers. zanjireh زنجیر i.e., "Ringlets or circles formed on the surface of water" (Steingass). There were more than one Janjira on the Western Coast of India, e.g., Suvarndurg Janjira, Ratnagiri Janjira, Wijaya-durg Janjira (J. L. Mankar's *Life and Exploits of Shivaji* (1886), p. 106).

⁴¹⁵ *Vide* for these pirates and the Siddhis' work, "The Pirates of Malabar and an English woman in India two hundred years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, 1907. Col. Biddulph says: "The Seedee of Janjira, who styled himself the Mogul's Admiral, received a yearly subsidy of four lakhs for convoying the fleet, a duty that he was quite unable to perform against European desperadoes." (Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 8).

⁴¹⁶ *Vide* "The Parsee Patels of Bombay. Their services to the British Government" by Bomanji Byramjee Patell (1876), p. 7 *et seq.* One cannot speak with certainty about the dates. Perhaps this attack was the same as that of 1694.

⁴¹⁷ Elliot's *History of India*, Muntakhab -ul-Lubab by Khafi Khan.

Aurangzeb ordered the Siddee of Janjira to march on Bombay, and take the English prisoners. President Annesley and the rest sixty-three in all were placed in irons and remained so for eleven months. This was in about 1695 or 1696.

In 1648, Shivaji captured some of the forts of the Rajpur territory of the Siddee. But the fort of Dandeh Rajpuri and some adjoining territories remained in the Siddi's hands. The Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled at Janjira from 1642 to 1655. He was succeeded by Fath Khan, who, in 1659, tried to reconquer his forts from Shivaji when the latter was engaged in war with the Bijapur army under Afzal Khan. In 1660, when Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur attacked Shivaji in his Panhala fort, Fath Khan invaded Konkan. But Shivaji, sending a large army against him, took the fort of Dandeh-i Rajpur in 1661 (July or August) and attacked Janjira, but, not having a good fleet, failed. In the end, not having any succour from Bijapur, Fath Khan made peace with Shivaji and gave up Dandeh-i Rajpur by the treaty of peace. But the peace was short-timed, because the Siddi, the maintenance of whose people of Janjira depended upon the produce of Rajpur territories, could not do without the possession of Dandeh-i-Rajpuri.

By this time, Shivaji had built a fleet of his own to protect his coast territories and secure captures of sea-trading ships. The Kolis, the Angrias, the Vaghers formed its crew. Two discontented Siddis—Masri and Daulat Khan—also took service in his fleet. With the help of this fleet, Shivaji not only carried on further conquests, but began trading himself with some Arabian and other ports. In February 1663, he prepared two ships for trade with Mocha. In 1665, he sent his trading vessels even to Persia and Basra. In February 1665, Shivaji sent a fleet of 55 ships to co-operate in the attack on South Canara. He then began plundering Mogul ships going to Mecca from Surat, which was then spoken of as Dar-ul-hajj, *i.e.*, the city of pilgrimage. So, the Moghal Emperor's general, Jai Singh, sought, in 1665, the alliance of the Siddhi, who was strong in fleet.

In 1666, when the Moghal Emperor invaded Bijapur, one Siddhi, named Sunbal or Sombal fought on the side of the Moghal army. When Shivaji made peace with the Moghal Emperor by

the treaty of Purandhar, it was arranged that, if Shivaji conquered Janjira, he was at liberty to retain it. "Shivaji offered to attempt the conquest of Janjira for the Emperor."⁴¹⁸ In 1669, Shivaji attacked Janjira with great force and, in 1670 Fath Khan being much hard pressed and not receiving any help from Bijapur was on the point of surrendering it, accepting the bribe of a Jagir, &c., from Shivaji but his three Abyssinian slaves disliked this surrender, roused the Siddi subjects for revolt and, imprisoning Fath Khan, applied to Adil Shah at Bijapur and to the Moghal Emperor for help. Aurangzib wrote to Shivaji to withdraw from Janjira, and the Siddi fleet was transferred from the overlordship of Bijapur to that of Delhi, and Siddi Sanbal, one of the leaders of the revolution, was created imperial admiral with a mansab and a jāgir yielding 3 lakhs of rupees. His two associates, Siddi Qasim (Yākūt) and Siddi Khairiyat were given the command of Janjira and the land dominions respectively. The Siddi fleet was taken into Mogal service on the same terms as those under Bijapur. The general title of Yaqut Khan was conferred on successive Siddi admirals from this time."⁴¹⁹ This revolution of the overthrow of Fath Khan took place in 1671.⁴²⁰

In the meanwhile, in 1670, Shivaji had arranged to seize Surat with the help of his fleet and started, but he ceased proceeding further, hearing that the Killedar of Surat, who had offered to help him was playing a fraud. In March 1671 Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprized Shivaji's Marathas when they were in the deep enjoyment of their Holi festival and re-took Dandeh-i Rajpur. Yaqut reconquered also the other seven forts taken by Shivaji. In September 1671, Shivaji sent messengers to the English at Bombay to seek their aid in his attempt to reconquer Dandeh-i Rajpuri. The Council at Surat dissuaded the authorities at Bombay from helping Shivaji, because they thought that his possession of this fort near Surat would be a threat to their naval power. In 1672, Aurangzib sent a fleet of 36 ships from Surat to help the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpur. This fleet destroyed a large part of Shivaji's fleet, six ships of which he sheltered in the harbour of Bombay. The English winked at that,

⁴¹⁸ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st, ed. p. 344. ⁴¹⁹ Sarkar's Shivaji, pp. 341-42.

⁴²⁰ *Ibid*, p. 342 n. Sarkar thinks that the date given by Khafi Khan is wrong.

and, lest they may incur the displeasure of Aurangzib, pretended and represented, that they themselves "had attached them as compensation for the plunder of their Rajpur factory in 1660"⁴²¹ (by Shivaji)." At this time, both Aurangzib and Shivaji courted the favour of the English to have the help of the English fleet at Bombay. Aurangzib's fleet appeared near Bombay in January 1673 with that view, but the English preferred neutrality in order to watch events. But at last they were, as it were, driven to take sides.

In August 1673, the French sold 80 ships and ammunition to Shivaji. They had similarly helped him in 1670 by selling him 40 guns during the siege of Pehderla. Now, there came the Dutch on the scene. Their commodore, Rudolf Van Gaen, offered, in March 1673, the help of their fleet of 22 ships for the capture of Dandeh-i Rajpur, if Shivaji gave them the help of 3,000 soldiers, whereby he can capture Bombay. But Shivaji refused this arrangement, especially because he disliked the Dutch.

In 1673, the Mogul fleet of 30 ships under Sanbal returned from Surat to Dandeh-i Rajpur, and, on 10th October, entering Bombay harbour, landed parties on the Pen and Nagotha river banks to destroy the Mahratha villages there. In 1674, the Siddi applied to the English to bring about a peace between him and Shivaji. In March 1674, Siddi Sanbal attacked the Mahrathas near Ratnagiri, but the Mahrathas were victorious. In 1675, Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack on Dandeh-i Rajpuri and laid a siege, which, at the end of the year, was raised on the arrival of Sanbal's fleet. It was laid again in 1675. But Sanbal's fleet compelled him to raise it in the end of 1676. In May 1676, Siddi Sanbal, having quarrelled with Aurangzeb, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan. It was this Qasim (Yaqut Khan) who had forced Shivaji's general Moro Pant to raise the siege of Janjira in December 1676. But still Sanbal did not deliver up his fleet to Qasim. In 1677, Qasim was again ordered from Delhi to give up the fleet but he disobeyed the order. At one time, when both these admirals were in Bombay, the English interfered and settled their affairs and "Qasim was installed as admiral at the end of October"⁴²² (1777). He continued the fight

⁴²¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 347. ⁴²² *Ibid*, p. 353.

against Shivaji and, in April 1678, returned to Bombay to rest during the Monsoons. His fleet was anchored at Mazagon. Shivaji, coming from the land side, tried to set fire to the fleet but could not do so, as the Portuguese refused to let his men pass through their territories. In October 1678, Shivaji again sent his admiral Daulat Khan to bombard Janjira. Siddi Qasim could not go at once to relieve the island as he was without money from the Mogul authorities at Surat to pay his men. But, in February 1680, he went out from his Bombay anchorage. In March 1680 the English entered into an agreement with Shivaji to remain strictly neutral and not to allow the Siddi's fleet to be sheltered in the Bombay waters during the Monsoons.

In the meantime, some circumstances had begun rising to create some differences between Shivaji and the English. In April 1672, Shivaji had an eye upon the rocky Island of Kenneri (Khanderi), $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and $\frac{1}{2}$ mile in breadth, about 11 miles south of Bombay and 30 miles north of Janjira, with a view to erect a fort there, which may, to some extent, act as a counterpoise against the rocky fort of Janjira. The English President at Surat objected, as that may affect and endanger the trade from Bombay. Both, the English and the Siddi, appearing there with their fleets, Shivaji stopped the fortification. But, later on, in August 1679, Shivaji renewed that project and, on 15th September, his admiral, known as the Mai Nayak (می نایک) i.e., the chief of the Sea (Aràb. *mae*=water), took possession of the island with 4 small guns and commenced fortifying it. The Deputy Governor of Bombay protested, saying that Kennery belonged to Bombay, but the protest had no effect. So a fight began. A sea-battle was fought on 18th October 1679 between Shivaji's fleet and the English fleet. Though the English lost several ships through the cowardice of some English soldiers on board, in the end, they were victorious and Shivaji's fleet ran and took shelter in the Nagothana creek. At the end of November, a Siddi fleet joined and helped the English in bombarding Kennery. But the cost of money and men (Englishmen) in the continued naval fight was so heavy, that the English thought, on 25th October 1679, to withdraw honorably and, either settle matters with Shivaji or throw the burden of fight upon the Siddi of Janjira and upon the Portuguese of Bassein whose

foreign trade was likely to be endangered by Shivaji's occupation of Kennery. The English were especially apprehensive of an attack, in reprisal, by Shivaji upon Bombay itself. The apprehension came to be true. Shivaji sent 4,000 men to Kallian Bhimri (Bhiwardi) with a view to land in Bombay *via* Thana. The Portuguese who then occupied that part of the country prevented their passage. So, Shivaji's troops marched to their port of Panvel opposite Trombay in October 1679. The Deputy Governor of Bombay was prepared to fight boldly but the authorities of the Surat Headquarters thought it advisable to settle the dispute with Shivaji, and, in the end, Shivaji was permitted to fortify Kennery. The English ships were withdrawn from Kennery in January 1680. Then the Janjira Siddi occupied and fortified Underi, which is close to Kenneri and is about a mile in circumference,⁴²³ on 9th January 1680. Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan attacked Underi but to no purpose. "Underi continued in Siddi hands throughout Shambhaji's reign, and neutralized the Maratha occupation of Khanderi, the two islands bombarding each other."⁴²⁴

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock was very hospitably received at Dandeh-i-Rajpur by Sidee Yaquba
The Siddis. (سیدی یعقوب c. 395). He is spoken of as a Siddee. So, I will speak here of these Siddis, who played a prominent part in the history of Central India. From Orme's account about these people, we gather the following particulars about their arrival and rise in India: They were natives of Abyssinia. At first, they came to India as traders and adventurers, and it was a king of Viziapore in the south who exalted them by giving them high posts. "The natural courage of these people, not unmixed with ferocity, awed the envy of their rivals. At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had, under his jurisdiction, a considerable extent of the sea coast to the north and south of Gingerah, when Sevagi got possession of Dunda Rajapore."⁴²⁵ Later on, after some fight with Shivaji, they

⁴²³ The two islands are known as Annery Kenneri (अनरी कनेरी)

⁴²⁴ Sarkar's Shivaji, 1st p. 362, 2nd p. 321.

⁴²⁵ Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire by Robert Orme, p. 56.

gave their services with their fleet to Aurangzib, but they “reserved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatsoever they might recover from their former fiefs, now lost to Viziapore.” ^{425a}

Some Dates about the Siddi's Rule at Rajpuri, Dandeh and Janjira.

The Siddis settled at Rajpur and Janjira.	Early 16th Century.
One of the Siddis appointed Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri by the Ahmednagar Sultanate.	Early 17th Century.
Bijapur Sultanate acknowledged the Siddi ruler as its representative in that part of the country	.. 1636
Shivaji captured all of the Siddi's forts on the mainland except Dandeh-i Rajpuri	.. .. 1648
Siddi Yusuf Khan ruled	.. .. 1642 to 1655
Siddi Fateh Khan tried to regain his forts from Shivaji, when Shivaji was fighting with Afzal Khan.	1659
Fath Khan invaded Konkan when Shivaji's fort of Panhala was besieged by Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur	1660
Shivaji conquered Dandeh-i Rajpuri and attacked Janjira but failed	.. .. 1661
Fath Khan, hard pressed, made peace with Shivaji, formally ceding to Shivaji Dandeh-i Rajpur	.. 1661
Shivaji built his own fleet and began trading with Arabian ports	.. .. 1663
Shivaji prepared his ships to co-operate for an attack on Canara	.. .. 1664
Shivaji traded with Persia, Basra, &c.	.. .. 1665
Shivaji sent a fleet of 85 frigates for the conquest of South Canara	.. .. February 1665
Jai Singh, the Mogul general, sought alliance with the Siddi to withstand Shivaji's attacks on Mogul Pilgrim ships from Surat to Mecca	.. .. 1665
A Siddhi general, named Sanbal, fought on behalf of the Moghal Emperor against Bijapore	.. .. 1666
Shivaji attacked Janjira	.. .. 1669

^{425a} *Ibid* p. 57.

Shivaji started with his fleet to capture Surat but stopped half way	1670
Revolution at Janjira. Fath Khan, who was on the point of surrendering it, was imprisoned by his people who then sought for help from Adil Shah of Bijapore and from Aurangzib	1671 ⁴²⁶
Siddi Qassim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, surprised Shivaji's Mahrathas during their Holi festivities and re-took Dandeh-Rajpur and other forts ..	1671
Shivaji asked the help of the English at Bombay for his proposed reconquest of Dandeh-Rajpur but was refused	1671
Shivaji began fortifying Kenneri island but was stopped by the English and the Siddis	1672
Shivaji's fleet defeated by Aurangzib's fleet that had come to help the Siddi	1672
Mogul fleet appeared in Bombay waters peacefully January	1673
The Dutch offered help of fleet to Shivaji for capturing Dandeh, if Shivaji gave help of 3,000 men to them for capturing Bombay. Shivaji refused .. March	1673
The French sold 80 guns to Shivaji August	1673
A Mogul fleet of 30 ships, under Sambal, came towards Bombay side, and, entering Bombay waters, destroyed Mahratha villages at Pen and Nagothana	1673
The Siddi attacked the Mahrathas at Ratnagiri, but with no success	1674
Shivaji arranged for a joint sea and land attack upon Dandeh-Rajpur and laid siege on Janjira but not successfully	1675
Janjira again besieged unsuccessfully	1676
Siddi Sambal, having quarrelled with the Moguls, was replaced by Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan May	1676

⁴²⁶ Serkar says that the date was 1674 and that Khafi Khan's date 1671 is wrong

The English interfered between the quarrels of the two admirals and Qasim (Yaqut Khan) was installed as Admiral	October	1677
Qasim Yaqut in Bombay waters with his fleet at Mazagon	April	1678
Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan bombarded Janjira	October	1678
Shivaji renewed the project of fortifying the Kennery island .. .. .	.. .. .	1679
A sea-battle, fought between Shivaji and the English. English victorious, and Shivaji's fleet fled to Nagothana	18th October	1679
The Siddi and English fleets bombarded Kennery ..	..	1679
The English, to prevent further cost and loss of Englishmen in the naval fight, stopped fighting further .. .. .	.. .. .	1679
Shivaji arranged to attack Bombay <i>via</i> Thana and Panvel .. .. .	.. .. .	1679
Qasim (Yaqut Khan), who could not go out earlier for want of funds, left Bombay waters to attack the Mahrathas	February	1680
Agreement between the English and Shivaji that the English were not to allow the Siddi's fleet in Bombay waters during the Monsoons and that Shivaji may hold Kennery	March	1680
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi	9th July	1680

Siddi Yaquba, or Yaqut, referred to in the *Qisseh* is the Siddi Qasim, otherwise known as Yaqut Khan. *Yaquba* c. 395. It seems that, either the author of the *Qisseh*, Jamshed Kaikobad, or his copyists, misread the last letter ت 't' for ب 'b'. Such misreadings are not unusual. So, Yaqut became Yaqub and then Yaquba for respectability's sake. He was appointed, at first, the Governor of the adjoining rock-fort of Janjira and, later on, in 1677, admiral and Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpur, which he had re-captured from the hands of

Shivaji. We gather the following about him from Khafi Khan.⁴²⁷ He, Siddi Sanbal and Siddi Khairyāt, were three Abyssinian slaves of Fath Khan, the general of Bijapur who held Danda-Rajpuri and Janjira. When he was hard pressed by Shivaji who attacked these places, Fath Khan was, as said above, on the point of surrendering these places to him but these three slave officers who managed the affairs of the island resolved to revolt against Fath Khan and to take him prisoner and defend the position (1671 A.C.). Siddi Sambal died some time after, declaring Siddi Yaqut as his successor in chief power, and “enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience.”⁴²⁸ Khafi Khan thus speaks of Yakub Khan “Sidi Yāqūt was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks.”⁴²⁹ Some time after, he re-conquered Danda-Rajpuri from the hands of Shivaji when the latter had retired to a little distant place to celebrate the Holi Holidays.

In the Akham-i-Alamgiri, i.e. the Anecdotes of Aurangzib, he is spoken of as the *Thānahdār* of the place. We read : From the news-letter of Machhli-Bandar (Maslipatam), the Emperor learnt that Siddi Yaqut Khan, the *thanahdar* of Danda-Rajpuri, had inserted a petition under his own seal in the news-letter stating that if the Collectorship (*mutasaddi-gari*) of Danda-Rajpuri were conferred on him, he would render far better service than his predecessors in increasing the prosperity of the place and in sending the imperial Customs revenue. Across the sheet of the news-letter, the Emperor wrote : “For a long time I have known of this aggressive and self-willed spirit of Siddi Yaqut Khan.”⁴³⁰ Prof. Sarkar says : “All the Siddis (Abyssinians) holding charge of Danda-Rajpuri after 1660 bore the title of Yaqut Khan from the Mughal Government, and acted as the Mughal admirals on the Bombay coast. Khafi Khan often narrates their history (II, 225-228, 453-54). Danda Rajpuri is a town on the Bombay

⁴²⁷ Muntakhab-ul-lubab of Muhammad Hashin Khafi Khan (Elliot's History of India, Vol. VII, p. 289) says, that each of the three Siddi officers had 10 well-trained Abyssinian slaves under them. ⁴²⁸ *Ibid*, p. 290. ⁴²⁹ *Ibid*, p. 290. ⁴³⁰ Anecdotes of Aurangzib (English translation of Ahkam-i-Alamgiri, ascribed to Hamid-ud-din Khan), by Jadunath Sarkar, 2nd Ed. of 1925, pp. 124-25, No. 66.

coast.....facing the island of Janjira which was the stronghold of the Abyssinians. One Siddi Yaqut was collector of Danda-Rajpuri in 1702 (U.A. 455)".⁴³¹

We find from the history of this time, that as said above, there was a Revolution at the place in 1671, which brought in Siddi Qasim, as Yaqut Khan to power. Some time after, he was asked by Aurangzib to attack Bombay and drive away the English from there. Grant Duff, in his "History of the Mahrathas while speaking of the events of 1689 A.C. says: "About this period the attention of the Emperor was attracted to the English, and in consequence of piracies which began to be committed by individuals, several of the factories belonging to the East India Company were seized."⁴³² This was no uncommon measure, for Aurangzib to adopt when any of the Moghul ships were taken, and he more than once threw the President at Surat into confinement; on the present occasion the Siddee was ordered to drive them from Bombay. Yakoot made a descent upon the island, and possessed himself of Mazagon, Sion and Mahim, but could make no impression on the fort. The attack, however continued, until the English appeased Aurangzib by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and the humblest submission. The Seedee quitted the island after he had remained upon it nearly a year."⁴³³ We read as follows on the subject: "The invasion of Bombay by the Sidi is described in a letter from Bombay to the Court of Directors of January 25, 1698. The Sidi landed with 20,000 men, seized the small fort at Sivri (or Sewri), plundered Mahim, and hoisted his flag in Mazagon fort, which had been abandoned. By February 15,

⁴³¹ Sarkar's Shivaji, p. 125. ⁴³² "The English traders began at that time to assert themselves and to claim the right of fortifying their 'factories' or commercial stations. Aurangzib's hostile attitude was also due in part to the action of the Interlopers who began about 1680 to trade with the East in open opposition to the East India Company. The Mughals were unable or unwilling to distinguish between the rival companies, or indeed between English merchants and English pirates like John Avery and held the President and Council responsible for all the acts of their countrymen in the East." (Foot-note of the Editor of the revised Edition of 1921 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.)

⁴³³ Grant Duff's History of the Mahrathas, revised by S. M. Edwardes (1921), Vol. I, pp. 274-75.

1689, he was master of the whole island, except the castle and a stretch of land to the south of it. From April to September 1689, Bombay was in very sorry plight. In December, Child despatched two envoys to Aurangzeb to sue for peace, the request for which was aided indirectly by certain external political factors ; and finally in February 1690, the Emperor granted a new *firman* to the Company, which had to pay him Rs. 1,50,000 in satisfaction of Mughal losses, and to promise to expel ' Mr. Child, who did the disgrace.' The Sidi finally left Bombay on June 8, 1690, nearly a year and a half after his first landing at Sivri.⁴³⁴

We gather the following facts from the above account of the Siddi's attack of Bombay :—

1. The Siddhi's sack of Bombay occurred early in January 1689. (The Despatch informing the Directors is dated 25th January 1689).
2. The Siddhi who attacked Bombay was Yāqut Khān.
3. Child, the chief factor at Surat, sent two envoys to the Court of Aurangzib to sue for peace in December 1689.
4. Aurangzib was won over " by the usual expedients of bribes to the courtiers and humblest submission." In " the humblest submission " must be included rich presents to the King himself.
5. Aurangzib thereupon issued a firman in favour of the English.
6. The Siddi's occupation of Bombay lasted from early in January 1689 to 8th June 1690.

The Qisseh says, that Rustam Manock went there for enjoyment (tafarrurj). But, one cannot understand, why Rustam Manock should part company from his English factor and go for enjoyment to such an out of the way place like Dandeh Rajpuri, about 40 miles from Bombay by sea. We find from the above account in some details that the history of the place shows that the English had a factory there and that they had some hand in the operations there between Shivaji and the Siddi. So, it seems that Rustam Manock had gone there for some business as a broker of

⁴³⁴ *Ibid*, p. 275 n. 1. Copied with some alterations and omissions from the Bombay City Gazetteer, by S. M. Edwardes, Vol. II pp. 83-85.

the English factory at Surat. Yāqūt had just come to power there and so Rustam went to him for business (*vide* above p. 243).

(b) **Rustam Manock's Visit to Damaun.**

According to the Qisseh, Rustam went from Dandeh-i-Rajpuri to Damaun. It does not say why he went there. But he must have gone there, not for any sight seeing, but on business. Rustam Manock was, besides being the broker of the English, also the broker of the Portuguese. In the Qisseh, in two places he is spoken of as the broker of the Portuguese. So, he seems to have gone there for business. The welcome extended to him by the Portuguese Government during this visit and the second visit after the capture of an Indian ship of Surat by the Portuguese and the welcome extended to him at Goa itself, when he went there later on, show that he was officially connected with the Portuguese. So, it appears that he went to Damaun on business and not on pleasure.

(c) **Rustam Manock's Visit of Naosari.**

Rustam's visit to Naosari on his way to Surat from Damaun was not for any business purpose, or for pleasure, but for a religious purpose. He had gone on an important errand, and so, on its success, he went to this town, which was on his way to Surat to offer thanksgiving to God at the fire-temple there. We find ancient Iranian kings observing such a custom.^{434a} He had, at first, a sacred bath. With the orthodox, a long journey, wherein one cannot observe all religious rites and ceremonies, necessitated such a bath.⁴³⁵ He had a bath of the kind and then he went to the Fire-temple,⁴³⁶

^{434a} *Vide* my Gujarati paper on the History of the Fire Temple of Adar Gushoop, in my Iranian Essays, Part I, pp. 125-148.

⁴³⁵ *Vide* my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees," pp. 149-51. *Vide* Tacitus' Annals (Bk. XV 24) for some religious scruples for travelling by water among the ancient Iranians.

⁴³⁶ The Naosari Fire-temple, at this time, was that for the sacred Fire of Iranshah, which is now located at Udwarā. This Sacred Fire was carried there in about 1516 and remained there till about 1741. (*Vide* my "Few Events in the Early History of the Parsis and their Dates" pp. 87-88.) The present Sacred Fire at Naosari was installed on 2nd December 1765 (Parsee Prakash I, p. 45).

to offer a thanks-giving prayer for his successful mission to the Mogul Court.⁴³⁷

Sir Streynsham Master who visited Surat in 1672 refers to Naosari. In his account of his visit of Surat, given in a letter, dated Bombay January 18, 1671, (i.e. new system 1672), addressed to England he gives an account of the Parsis. The letter is given in full by Col. Henry Yule in his diary of William Hedges.⁴³⁸ Therein he says about the Fire :

Sir Streynsham Master on the Fire-temple at Naosari.

“At the said place of Nausaree their Chief Priests reside, where tis said they have their Holy fire which they brought (with) them from their Owne Country, and is never to goe out. They keepe it so constantly supplied ; they had a church in Surratt; but the Tumultuous Rabble of the zelott Moors destroyed and tooke it from them when they were furious on the Hindooes. They have severall buryall Places here abouts, which are built of Stone in the wide fields, wherein they lay the dead Bodys exposed to the open air soe that the Ravenous fowles may and do feed upon them.”⁴³⁹

According to Capt. Hawkins, the river on which Naosari stands (the river Purna) was much navigable in former times. With the help of this river-communication, Naosari commanded a great calico trade. While referring to the gates of Surat,

Hawkins on Naosari and its river.

⁴³⁷ For some particulars about this town which is the Head-quarters of a large class of the Parsee priest-hood, *vide* my paper on “The Petition of Dastur Kaikobad to Emperor Jahangir” (Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute, No. 13, pp. 181-82). The District of Naosari contained the towns of Mulere and Salere. The Mahumudi coins of Gujarat were struck at Mulere. We read : “The Mahmudis were the coins of the independent Muslim kings of Gujarat. After its conquest by Akbar, the coinage of rupaiyas was introduced at the royal mints of Ahmedabad and some time after of Surat. The coinage of Mahmudis was continued by Pratap Sah at the fort of Mulher till 1637; his Mahmudis were struck in Akbar’s name. Five mahumudis made two rupees.” (The Empire of the Great Mogol, by J. S. Hoyland (1928), p. 29, n 42 translated from the Dutch work of De Laet, and entitled “Description of India and Fragments of Indian History.”)

⁴³⁸ The Diary of William (afterwards Sir William) Hedges, by Colonel Henry Yule. Printed for the Hakluyt Society, Vol. II (1888), pp. 222-255.

⁴³⁹ *Ibid*, p. 315.

Hawkins says: "A third (gate leads) to Nonsary (Naosari), a town 10 *cose* (kos) off where is made a great store of calico having a fair river coming to it."

The Qisseh says that, when Rustam Manock, on his way from Aurangzeb's Court of Surat, went to Naosari after visiting Dandeh-Rajpuri and Damaun, he lived at the house of a relative (khish c. 406), named Noshirwan. Who was this Noshirwan? The Gujarati translator adds the name Meherji after his name and gives the name as Noshirwan Meherji. So if we take the name as given by the translator as correct, who was this Noshirwan Meherji? There were several persons of the name of Noshirwan Meherji, known during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721):—

1. One Noshirwan Meherji Patel is referred to (in a document dated 26th September 1686), in the matter of the dispute between the priests and the laymen of Naosari.⁴⁴⁰ The visit to Naosari was in about 1701 A.C. So, one may say that, perhaps, it was at this Noshirwan Meherji's that Rustam Manock was a guest. But one thing may be suggested against this view. It is, that it appears from the document, that Noshirwan Meherji was a layman (Behedin) and Rustam Manock was of a priestly family. So, how can they be related to one another? But we know that though the priestly class did not give their daughters to those of the laymen class, they took theirs in marriage. So possibly, this relationship was that caused by the marriage of a son of Rustam Manock's stock of family with a daughter of Noshirwan Meherji's stock of family.

2. Again there was another Noshirwan Meherji (Chāndnā) living during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721). One may object to this name on the ground that Rustam Manock belonged to the sect of the Bhagaria priests while Noshirwan Meherji (Chāndnā) belonged to the opposite sect of the Minocher Homji priests. But, it may be said that the relationship by marriage between the two families may have been made, before the sacerdotal schism, which took place in about 1686. So, it is very likely that

⁴⁴⁰ Parsi Prakash I, pp. 19 and 845-46.

the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh, whose hospitality at Naosari Rustam Manock accepted was this Noshirwan Meherji. He may have been related to Rustam Manock by marriage.

3. There lived at Naosari a third Noshirwan Meherji during the time of Rustam Manock (1635-1721). He is Noshirwan Meherji referred to in the Bhagarsath Genealogy by Mr. Rustamji Jamaspji Dastur Meherji Rana.⁴⁴¹ But this person died in Samvat 1735 (1679 A.C.).⁴⁴² So he cannot be the host of Rustam Manock in about 1701 A.C. when Rustam visited Naosari.

From all these considerations, I think, that the Noshirwan Meherji of the Qisseh is the second of the three Noshirwan Meherjis referred to above. Again, the family tradition says, that this Noshirwan Meherji's family was pretty well off and had some property in Surat.⁴⁴³ So, there is a greater probability of this Noshirwan receiving Rustam Manock as his guest.

XII

Rustam Manock's Visit of Goa to get Osman Chalibee's ship released from the hands of the Portuguese.

Of all the places on the Western coast of India, Bombay and Goa were said to be the most important. So, even the French had an eye upon Goa, later on.

A French officer, Stanislas Lefebvre, is said to have reported : " Bombay et Goa sont sans contredit les deux pointes les plus essentielles de la côte occidentale de la Presq'île de l'Inde."⁴⁴⁴ Goa was in the time of Rustam Manock, as it is even now, the centre of Portuguese power and rule. From very early times, its excellent position on the Western coast of India attracted

⁴⁴¹ અથેરનાન ડેગાની ભગરસાથ વંશાવલી p. 118. *Vide* its English version "The Genealogy of the Naosari priests" issued for private circulation by Naoroz Parvez, with an introduction by Sir George Birdwood, p. 118. I am thankful to Mr. Mahyar N. Kutar for suggesting to me this name.

⁴⁴² *Vide* the above Gujarati Genealogy, p. 244, col. 1.

⁴⁴³ I am thankful to Mr. Rustamji Merwanji Karkaria of Naosari for this information. *Vide* also the Navar Fehrest compiled by Ervad Mahyar N. Kutār, Vol. I, 29. Nāvar, No. 235, mentions this name. He is spoken of as Suratio, i.e. of Surat.

⁴⁴⁴ Quoted by Dr. Gerson Da Cunha, in his paper, on "The English and their Monuments at Goa" Jour. B. B. R. A. S., Vol. XIII p. 109.

different conquerors to this part of the country. It was visited by the Arab traveller Ibn Batuta in the 14th century.^{444a} In 1469, it passed into the hands of the Bahmani kings of the Deccan. Then, it passed into the hands of the Bijapur kings. In 1510, a Portuguese fleet under Albuquerque captured it. It was re-captured for a short time by the king of Bijapur, but Albuquerque reconquered it shortly after. The early traders spoke of it, on account of its wealth, as "the Golden Goa" (Goa Dourada) and said: "Whoever had seen Goa need not see Lisbon."⁴⁴⁵ The Portuguese based their dominion in India on conquest by the sword. They laboured to consolidate it by a proselytizing organization which throws all other missionary efforts in India into shade."^{445a} It is the "old Goa" that is referred to in the Qisseh. It was in about 1759, that Panjim or New Goa was founded. Now the story of the capture of a Mahomedan ship by the Portuguese is briefly as follows :

There was at Surat, a merchant, named Osman Chalibee. His ship, while returning from Jedda, was captured by the Portuguese. The Nawab of Surat sent for Rustam and requested him to get the ship released from the hands of the Portuguese. Rustam complied with the request. He, at first, went to Damaun, but the Governor of the place referred him to the authorities at Goa. So, he went to Bassein and from there went to Goa. The Governor-General of Goa referred the matter to the Home authorities at Portugal, and, in the end, the ship was released and handed over to Osman Chalibee through Rustam. Now, who was this Osman Chalibee ?

*The Event of
the Capture of a
Ship by the
Portuguese.*

^{444a} The Travels of Ibn Batūta, by Rev. Samuel Lee (1829), p. 164.

⁴⁴⁵ Encyclopædia Britannica, 8th Ed., Vol. X, p. 706, col. 2. The Missionary efforts of the Portuguese reminds one of their "Inquisition" at Goa. Dr. Fryer speaks of it as "a terrible tribunal" and says of a place known as the "Sessions house" as "the bloody prison of the Inquisition" (Fryer's New Account of India and Persia, Letter IV, Chapter II, pp. 148 and 155). Niccolao Manucci refers to the town of Bassein, which is referred to in the Qisseh and says that there was an Inquisition there also. (Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, translated by William Irvine, Vol. III (1909), p. 181.

^{445a} *Ibid.*

The merchant, Osman Chalibi, for whose ship Rustam Manock went to Goa, seems to be a descendant of the family of a celebrated Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was driven, in 1554, by a great storm to the shores of Gujarat and was forced to touch Damaun, from where, some time after, he went to Surat. On making inquiries at Surat, if there were any descendants of Osman Chalibi there at present, I learn that no trace can be found of them. But there still exists at Surat a masjid bearing Chalibi's name. Mr. Kavasji Burjorji Vakil, a leading Parsee of Surat, in reply to my inquiries wrote to me thus in his letter of 24th July 1928 : " I am sorry I have not been able to get any useful information on the point. It may, however, interest you to know that there is still a masjid existing in Sodagarwad⁴⁴⁶ locality, behind the City Municipality, which is known as Chalibini Masjid.⁴⁴⁷ It is being managed now by a Mahomedan gentleman, aged about 80 named Sumadbbhai Ahmedbbhai Misri. I made due inquiries from him, but, he too, though advanced in years, has not been able to give any information regarding the Chalibi family or Usman Chalibi mentioned, in your letter."

Baron Von Hammer speaks of one Chalibi as "Sidi Al Chalebi, Captain of the fleet of Sultan Suleiman."⁴⁴⁸ Reinaud also speaks of him as Sidi Ali-Tchelebi. He seems to have been the founder of the Chalibi family of Surat. He was called by others, and he spoke of himself as, Capudan, i.e., Captain, from a similar Portuguese word. M. Reinand refers to him in his *Géographie d'Aboulféda*.⁴⁴⁹ Besides being a great admiral, he was somewhat of a scholar, a poet and a writer. He had published a book of his travels called *Merât-ul Memâlik*, (مرآت الممالك) i.e., Mirror of Countries.⁴⁵⁰ An extract from this


⁴⁴⁶ i.e., the street of merchants. ⁴⁴⁷ i.e., the Mosque of Chalibi.

⁴⁴⁸ Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 35. (November 1834) p. 545.

⁴⁴⁹ *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, traduit par M. Reinand (1848). Tome I et II. Introduction p. CLXV.

⁴⁵⁰ Vide Dr. Rieu's Catalogue of Turkish MSS. p. 120, for an account of this author of *Merât-al-Memalik*.

work is published in the Transactions of our⁴⁵¹ Society, which, for some time, had ceased to be published here and were published in London, at the time, when our original Society of Bombay became a branch of the London Royal Asiatic Society.⁴⁵² M. Silvestre de Sacy has referred to this work and given a few particulars about this admiral and author.⁴⁵³ The account in our Journal is from the pen of the celebrated orientalist of the time, Joseph Hammer of Vienna. It was read on 31st October 1815, and is entitled, "Notice and Extracts of the Miritolmemalik (Mirror of Countries) of Sidi Ali Capoodawn." This work was first translated into German by M. de Diez, the Prussian envoy at Constantinople in 1815, under the title of *Denkwürdigkeiten von Asien* (i.e., Memorable Events of Asia). Then M. Morris has translated this work into French from the German of M. de Diez in the *Journal Asiatique*.⁴⁵⁴

He has also written another work on a nautical subject under the title of *Mohit* () i. e. ocean. This work was finished by him at Ahmedabad in December 1554.⁴⁵⁵

⁴⁵¹ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, published in London, 1820, pp. 1-14. ⁴⁵² For this early history of the B. B. R. Asiatic Society, *vide* my "A Glimpse into the work of the B. B. R. A. Society during the last 100 years from a Parsee point of View," p. 2. ⁴⁵³ "Journal des Savants" de Mars 1821, quoted in *Journal Asiatique*. (Tome IX pp. 27-8).

⁴⁵⁴ "Miroir de pays, ou relations des Voyages de Sidi Aly fils d' Housain, nommée ordinairement Katibi Roumi, amiral de Soliman II (*Journal Asiatique* 1826, Tome IX, pp. 27-56, 65-97, 129-174, 193-217, 280-299). For the references to M. de Diez and M. Morris, *vide Ibid*, p. 28.

⁴⁵⁵ *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, p. 545. For the reference to Ahmedabad, *vide* p. 545. Mr. Mancherji P. Kharegat, to whom I had sent the article on *Mohit*, hoping that it may interest him from the point of view of his study of Iranian calendar, has kindly drawn my attention to an interesting fact, and I give it below in his own words as it may interest others also. "The article on *Mohit*.....has been very interesting reading for various reasons, but especially, because it has cleared up a point, viz., why the peculiar arrangement of the Kadimi Calendar, in which the days are numbered, instead of being divided into months, is called Daryā-i Nauroz. I knew that both Mulla Firuz and Cowasji Patel had said, that it was because mariners used it in that form, but they had given no authority; and I was inclined to regard their remarks as mere guess-work. But the article in question proves, beyond doubt, that, at least, upto the 16th century, the Yazdagardi Calendar was actually used in this form by sea-farers; the present article also shows that they were inclined to substitute the Jalali calendar for it even then.

Hammer thus speaks of this Sidi Ali : " The Author, Captain of the Egyptian fleet of Soleimaun, the great Ottoman emperor, had received orders to carry fifteen Turkish ships from Bassora down the Persian Gulf and up the Arabian to Suez. But not being well acquainted, as it seems, either with the monsoons or with the coast of India, he lost his way and his fleet and was obliged to make his way overland from Guzerat, by Hind, Sind, Zaboulestaun, Bedakhshaun, Khottaun, Toorān, Khorasaun, Khowarezem, Kipjak, Pak, and Asia Minor to Constantinople."⁴⁵⁶

*What brought
this Sidi Ali
Chalibi to Bom-
bay.*

According to what Sidi Ali says of himself in his book, he " had made from his youth nautics and seamanship the principal object of his studies and endeavours. He was a witness to the glorious conquest of Rhodes, and afterwards accompanied in the western seas the late admirals Khairaddin (Barbarossa) and Sinaun Pashaw on all their expeditions, completed in that way the course of his naval acquirements, and composed many works on nautics and astronomy."⁴⁵⁷ His " father and grandfather were both employed at the arsenal of Ghalata in the rank of Kiayas, and distinguished themselves as exquisite, skilful seamen."⁴⁵⁸

I give below some particulars about this admiral, as collected from the Notice of M. de Diez in German, as translated by M. Morris in French.⁴⁵⁹ His name was Sidi-Ali bin Housaïn. He was also called Katib-i⁴⁶⁰ Roumi. He lived during the reign of the Ottoman Emperors, Soleiman I (1519-1566) and Soleiman II. In his youth, he was somewhat of a poet. So, he took the name of Katib-i Roumi to distinguish himself from a Persian poet who was known as Katibi Adjemi. He commenced his voyages in 1553. He was appointed admiral of Egypt in that year and was asked to take the Turkish fleet from Aleppo to Bussora and then from there to Suez through the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea. While passing through the Persian Gulf with his 15 ships, he came across a Portuguese fleet of 25 ships at the island of Hormuz.

⁴⁵⁶ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, London (1820) Vol. II, p. 1. ⁴⁵⁷ *Ibid.* ⁴⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2.

⁴⁵⁹ Journal Asiatique, Vol. IX, p. 29 seq.

⁴⁶⁰ Katib designe un employé dans la chancellerie (*Ibid.*, p. 30).

He was victorious in the fight. Seventeen days after, he met, on Arabian coast, another Portuguese fleet of 34 ships which ran away after a short fight. Adverse winds drove him away from Arabian coast. Then he was overtaken by a heavy storm and was forced to proceed to the coast of Gujarat and to land at Daman,⁴⁶¹ which was in the hands of Sultan Ahmed and was governed by Malik Asad. This commandant, on hearing his account, told Sidi Ali to be on his guard, lest he may be again attacked by the Portuguese. At Damaun, he met some sailors of the merchant boat from Kalkun (کالکون)⁴⁶². This name is written in another place as Kalout (کلوت)⁴⁶³.

The Mahomedan Governor of Damaun advised him to proceed to Surat, which is spoken of by him as Sourriat (سریت). A large number of the people of his fleet took service among Indian troops, because they could not return by sea. The admiral himself went to Surat with some of his people. He had only few ships with him and he was again attacked by the Portuguese fleet there. But the Portuguese could not capture him. At this time, the Ottoman Empire was powerful; so, as its admiral, he commanded great respect wherever he went. He met Emperor Humayun and gave him much information about astronomy. Some Indian kings wished to keep him under their services. Sultan Ahmed of Gujarat wanted to engage him and to give him the country of Berdedj (بر دج)⁴⁶⁴. Shah Hassan Mirza of Sind wanted

Sidi Ali Chahlibi's short stay in India.

⁴⁶¹ *Ibid*, pp. 32, 82.

⁴⁶² Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, p. 82.

⁴⁶³ Hammer gives for the first name, Calcutta. Transactions op. cit. II, p. 4. This is a mistake for Calicut. He gives, a little later on (*Ibid*), the name properly as Calicut. Perhaps, the mistake may not be his own, but of the Press in London, where our Journal was then published. As to the two different names, Kalkun (کالکون) and Kalut (کلوت), it is properly observed by the translator, that the correct word is Kelkout (کلکوت), i.e., Calicut (on doit, sans doute, corriger dans les deux endroits et écrire Kelkout ou Calicut) (Journal Asiatique, Tome IX, p. 82, n. 1). This correction is justified by the fact that the king of that country is referred to as Sameri (سامری) i.e., Zamorin.

⁴⁶⁴ Jour. Asiatique IX, p. 94. This name seems to be Broach. The letter dal seems to be a mistake for vav. So, the name may be read Barouj (بر دج), i.e., Broach.

to keep him and offered him Governorship of Lahori or Diouli Sind.^{464a} Humayun himself offered him large sums of money if he took his service. One of the Uzbek Khans offered him Bokhara when he went there. But his love for his country and attachment to the Royal house of Ottoman led him to refuse all these offers. His only great ambition at the time was to have another fleet from King Soleiman, and command it again to fight with the Portuguese. On his return journey, he passed through Sind, Hind, Zabulestan, Badukhsan, Khotan, Transoxania (Mawarannehr), the desert of Kiptchak, Khowarezm, Khorassan, Persia, Kurdestan, Bagdad, Adrianople. Soleiman was at the time at Adrianople. He was away from Turkish territories for 3 years from 1553 to 1556.

This admiral Sidi Ali was also known as Chalibi. Haji Calfa (Haji Khalfa), who lived in the 17th century and who wrote in 1645 a bibliographic Dictionary, speaks of him as Chalebi (چلبی).⁴⁶⁵ Chalebi seems to be a common family name.

According to Sir Edwin Pears⁴⁶⁶, Chilibi is the designation of the “Superior.....of the Mehlevhi Dervishes, who resides usually at Konia, the ancient Iconium.”
Chalibi, a Designation. “The act of girding on the sword of Osman, the founder of the dynasty” on the coronation day, “belongs by right” to these superiors.^{466a} According to M. Reinaud,⁴⁶⁷ there was, in 1553, an admiral of the Ottoman Emperor Soliman, named Sidi-Ali-Tehelebi. The Ottoman fleet under him, while chasing the Portuguese, who were at that time very powerful in the Red Sea and in the Persian Gulf, the two seas which the Musulmans considered as an appendage of the cradle of Islamism (comme une dépendance du berceau de l’islamisme⁴⁶⁸), was overtaken by great storms (horrible tempêtes) and forced by adverse winds to touch the coast

^{464a} *Ibid*, p. 131. ⁴⁶⁵ *Vide Journal Asiatique*, Vol. IX, p. 36.

⁴⁶⁶ Forty Years in Constantinople. The Recollections of Sir Edwin Pears, 1873-1915 (1916), p. 175. ^{466a} *Ibid*.

⁴⁶⁷ Géographie d’Aboulféda, traduite par M. Reinaud (1848), Tome I and II. Introduction; p. CLXV. ⁴⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

of India. This Chalibi, besides being an admiral, was a great scholar and an enthusiastic searcher after knowledge.⁴⁶⁹

From the above account, the principal fact which we gather is this, that a Turkish admiral, named Sidi Ali Chalibi, who was all along harassed by the Portuguese in his voyage, was driven to the shores of Gujrat by a monsoon storm. By the time he came here, his fleet was all shattered or well-nigh annihilated. He had, left with him, some ships, but they were not worth sea-faring and were also not in a position to fight with the Portuguese who were sure to harass him further. So, he thought of returning to Constantinople by land. He returned with a few men, and most of his crew and sailors took service here. He himself says in his above-mentioned work: "As my men heard of this intelligence [*viz.*, that the Portuguese fleet was coming], some of them remained at Daman, attaching themselves to the service of Melek Esed [the Mahomedan Governor of Daman on behalf of Ahmedshah] and some, preferring the land to the sea, sunk their boats, and went by land to Surat. I, with the few that remained attached to me..... proceeded to Surat by sea..... The faithful inhabitants of Surat rejoiced at our arrival..... They expressed their hopes that by Ottoman fleets Gujrat would soon be added to the Ottoman empire, and regretted only that our arrival had happened in a time of internecine discord and civil war."⁴⁷⁰ Thus, it appears, that the Siddis who played, later on, a great part in the naval warfare on the Western shore of India, and the Chalibeas, were both the descendants of the brave sailors of the fleet of Sidi Ali Chalibi.

Mr. Edalji B. Patel refers to later Chalibis, named Ahmad and Saleh Chalibi.^{470a} Mr. Jahangir Burjorji Sanjana, who had, at one time, lived long at
A later Chalibi. Surat, wrote on 17th August 1928, in reply to my inquiry, that there was a local tradition prevalent at Surat of a later Chalibi named

⁴⁶⁹ After writing the above, I have come across an interesting account of Konia in the Illustrated Weekly of the Times of India of 10th February 1929 (p. 24) from the pen of Dr. L. Dudley Stamp. According to this writer, Chalibi Effendi was the head of the "Order of the Whirling Dervishes of Konia." ⁴⁷⁰ Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, Vol. II, pp. 4-5.

^{470a} The History of Surat (in Gujarati, 1890), pp. 63-64.

Mohammed Saleh Chalibi. He was a great merchant and possessed many ships. He had great influence with the kings of Delhi. It was he who had built the Daria Mahal, latterly owned by Mr. Burjorji Modi.”⁴⁷¹

According to Anquetil du Perron, who was for several years at Surat, the Chalibis, of whom he speaks as Tchelibis were Arab merchants (Marchands Arabes⁴⁷²).
Anquetil on the Chalibis. Anquetil Du Perron refers to the dissensions among the family of the Nabobs of Surat, wherein, the European factors took one side or another. The Dutch were on one side and the English on the other. In these dissensions, the Chalibis were on the side of Nawab Miachan (Mia Khan), who was supported by the English.⁴⁷³ Anquetil refers to the Chalibis as being very powerful.⁴⁷⁴ Anquetil also speaks of the Chalibi as the Admiral of Surat.

Some of these Chalibis were known in the West also. We
A Chalibi of the west. read: “Widely scattered Shia communities acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Chelebi of the Bektashi”.⁴⁷⁵ “The Bektashi sect is reputed to have been founded by Haji Bektash, who is represented as a fourteenth-century Anatolian saint, mainly famous as having consecrated the original corps of Janissaries.”⁴⁷⁶. The family title has also come down. In 1914, Jemal Efendi was the Chalebi and he “claims to be the actual descendant of Haji Bektash and *de jure* the supreme head of the order. His office is

⁴⁷¹ I give here the result of his inquiries in his own words : દંત કથા એવી છે કે મોહમદ સાલેહ ચલેબી એક મોટા સોદાગર હતા ને તેણેના જહાઝ હતાં અને દીલ્હી સુધી તેવણની સાખ હતી, ને સુરતનેા સુત્રા બદલવો હોય, તેા સુરતથી ચાર પાંચ માણસ દીલ્હી લખી મોકલે તેા સુરતનેા સુત્રા બદલાઈ બચ. બરજોરજ મોદીનેા દરોયા મેહેલ છે તે અસલ તેવણે આંધેલો તેમજ ચ્યુનીસીપાલીટીની પછવાડે ખસણકે છે તે ચલેબીની મદદગદની નામની શરૂઆત મશહૂર છે. તેમજ તેની સાથે મોટી જમીન ઉત્તેમાં નાજુદાવાલાએ વાડી બનાવી છે. તેમજ મોટી કુવા હોય વિ. ઉ. તેવણની આલાદનેા કેઈ નય. I think that, perhaps, the nakhūdāwālā referred to here was some one of the descendants of the above followers of the above great Turkish Nākhodā or Captain.

⁴⁷² Zend Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastro (1761) Tome I, p. 278.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid*, p. 283. For an account of these dissensions, *vide* my Anquetil Du Perron and Dastur Darab p. 27 seq. ⁴⁷⁴ *Ibid*, p. 350.

⁴⁷⁵ Christianity and Islam under the Sultans, by F. W. Hasluck, Vol. I, p. 161, ⁴⁷⁶ *Ibid*, p. 159.

hereditary in his family though the succession is not from father to son, the senior surviving brother of a deceased Chelebi taking precedence of his eldest son".⁴⁷⁷ Some pronounce the name as Zelebi ⁴⁷⁸.

The Kisseh speaks of Rustam Manock going to the Captain Kerān (کپتان کران) of Damaun. This name occurs in several places (cc. 479, 482, 502, 511). The Gujarati translator takes these words to be a proper name (c. 484). If so, who is this Captain Kerān. I wrote, on this subject, to Mr. Dhanjishaw Cawasji Dhanbhura, who has founded, recently, near the village of Devka, in the vicinity of Damaun, a Parsee colony of middle class Parsees, who have built their bungalows there on the beautiful sea-shore. He is the Abkari contractor of the Portuguese Government of Damaun and is in a position to make full inquiries. He has kindly procured for me the following list of the Governors of Damaun from 1559 to 1718 :

NAMES OF THE GOVERNORS OF DAMON.

- 1559 D. Diogo de Noronha.
- 1581 D. Filippe de Castro.
- 1581 Martin Affonso de Mello.
- 1593 D. Duarte Deça.
- 1607 Rui de Mello de Sampaio.
- 1673 Manoel Furtado de Mendonça.
- 1678 Manoel de Lacerda.
- 1698 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1698 D. Antonio de Menezes.
- 1702 João de Sousa Montenegro.
- 1705 Manoel de Sousa de Menezes.
- 1709 Antonio da Silva Tello.
- 1710 Agostinho de Four Barbosa.
- 1713 Manoel Pereira de Castro e Abreu.
- 1718 Bertholameu de Mello Sampaio.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid*, p. 162.

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid*, p. 163.

This list of governors does not contain any name like Karān. So, I conclude, that it is not a proper name, but simply a designation. Captain Kerān seems to “mean the great Captain.” The word Keran, I think to be Pers. gerān گران the great. In those times, there was the practice—and that practice prevails even now to a certain extent—of speaking about officers, not by their names, but by their designations; perhaps one may take the word to be the Indian word Karāni (करानी), who is a person who has something to do with the ship. In that case, one may take the word from P. kerān کران i.e., shore or bank. There is a Parsi family, known as Karāni, because the founder followed the profession of a karāni.

The Qisseh, while speaking of the ruler of Goa, says that his name was the great Vijril (cc. 499, 506, 528, 533, 535, 558, 562, 566):

ولی در گوا سرور ما سترگ
بود و بجزیش بنام بزرگ

This word Vijril (ویجریل) also does not seem to be a proper name. In the list of the Viceroys or governors of Goa, as given by Dewan Bahadur Ranchodbhai, ⁴⁷⁹ we do not find a name like that of Vijril. So, I think, that this word is an Indianized form of Viceroy. We find that, even Emperor Jehangir, in his Tuzuk, when he speaks of the Viceroy of the Portuguese at Goa, does not speak of him by his name, but as Warzā ⁴⁸⁰, a corruption of Vice-rei or Vico-rei, the Portuguese words for “Viceroy”. So, Vizril seems to be a form of Vice-rei or Vico-rei.

The Qisseh speaks of Rustam giving presents also to the Pādris or priests at Damaun. In those times, the pādris were very powerful. Besides attending to their ecclesiastical matters, they also attended to political matters. We find that, at times, being powerful in the Mogul Court, they exerted their influence in

⁴⁷⁹ स्पेन अने पोर्तुगल (Spain and Portugal) 1916.

⁴⁸⁰ Memoirs by Rogers and Beveridge, I, p. 274.

favour of their country of Portugal. In Goa itself, we find, that, at times, its archbishops acted as Viceroys ⁴⁸¹ and, at times, they acted as colleagues in commissions, appointed to rule. For example, we find in the Commission of 1691-93, the Archbishop of Goa as a colleague of two other officers.⁴⁸² In 1717, the Archbishop Primate, Don Sebastioe de Andrade Persanha ruled as Governor of Goa.

XIII.

LATER EVENTS.

The Documents, referred to above, refer to later events—
Reference in Biddulph's "Pirates of Malabar," to Rustam's son. events after the death of Rustam Manock. The differences, which Rustan had with Sir N. Waite, continued, even after his death. Rustam and his transactions were misrepresented and his sons had to suffer for these. Their transactions have been, on the authority of the one-sided letters sent by the English factors opposed to him, misrepresented, and later writers have been misguided. For example, Col. Biddulph has been so misguided. We find the following reference in his "Pirates of Malabar": "A Parsee broker, named Bomanjee, was under arrest for fraud; Matthews demanded his surrender. The Council placed Bomanjee in close confinement in the fort, to prevent his being carried off. Matthews promised Bomanjee's sons, he would take one of them to England, and undertook to make the Directors see things in a proper light."⁴⁸³

⁴⁸¹*Vide* the List of Viceroys of Goa given by Diwan Bahadur Ranchhod-bhai Udairam in his Gujarati book, named Spain and Portugal (1916), p. 265 *seq.* ⁴⁸²*Ibid*, p. 270. ⁴⁸³"The Pirates of Malabar and an English-woman in India two Hundred Years ago" by Col. John Biddulph, p. 196. *Vide* my contribution on the subject in the *Jam-i-Jamshed* of Bombay of 28th Nov. 1908. (For the contribution in connection with "Annesley of Surat and his times" *vide Ibid*, 22nd Nov. 1919). I remember writing to Col. Biddulph, at the time when his book was published, drawing his attention to the true state of affairs, and he kindly wrote in reply that he would make the correction if he published another edition of his book. Bomanjee had four sons. In the end, Matthews, instead of taking one of the sons, took Bomanjee, brother to London.

Col. Biddulph refers to one Matthews in the above passage.

*Commodore
Matthews.*

Charles Boonet, who was the factor of the Surat Factory and who had gone to England, in the postscript of a letter, dated 25th March 1725, addressed to Framjee and Bomanjee, the two elder brothers of Nowrojee who had gone to England, refers to the settlement of an affair between Nowrojee and commodore Matthews. Biddulph's Matthews is the same as this Matthews. Who was this Commodore Matthews and what was the affair between the two? I give below an account of Matthews, which seems to show that the affairs may be in respect to Commodore Matthews helping the brothers and especially in the matter of the costs of conducting Nowrojee to England. Nowrojee was the first known Parsee, or, perhaps, the first known non-official Indian to go from here to England from the Bombay side, and so, he required all possible help and advice in the voyage and in England. I think, that had it not been for the help of Matthews, perhaps Nowrojee would not have gone to England. Col. Biddulph seems to have done some injustice to him and to the sons of Rustam Manock. The decisions in the cases of both justify the positions they had taken up. I give below this account of Matthews, as given by Col. Biddulph in his *Pirates of Malabar*.

Commodore Thomas Matthews was asked in 1719⁴⁸⁴ to proceed to East India with a strong fleet to suppress the pirates of Madagascar. For his "brutal manners", he was nicknamed "Il Furibondo". He disregarded many of the orders of the Directors of the East India Company and came to Bombay on 27th September 1721. Though he was sent to the East to suppress piracy, it was suspected, that he was in league with the pirates. The ship Salisbury, in which, later on, Naorojee, the son of Rustam Manock, went to England, was in his squadron when he left England, but, being disabled in a storm, was delayed at Lisbon and followed him later. On coming to Bombay, he began quarreling with the Governor (Charles Boone). The Angaria⁴⁸⁵ at Gharía infested the sea with his piracy and the

⁴⁸⁴ The *Pirates of Malabar*, by Col. John Biddulph, (1907) p. 169, *seq.*

⁴⁸⁵ There was a line of Angarias. The first was Conajee (Kunhojee) Angaria. Then Manajee, his illegitimate son; then Sakhaji, Sambhajee and Yessaji (Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*).

English and the Portuguese jointly moved against him, marching, at first, towards Chaul which was in the hand of the Portuguese. The object was to attack Angaria's position on the coast of Colaba. "On the 30th October, a seven days' fast was ordered, to secure the Divine blessing on the undertaking, and the chaplain was directed to preach an appropriate sermon."⁴⁸⁶ Matthews was in command in this joint expedition, which ended in failure. Governor Boone, who ruled for 6 years, was succeeded by Phipps on 9th January 1722. In Boone's regime, a good wall was built round Bombay. When all ships fired salute to the Governor, Matthews did not do so. He aimed at private trade for his own benefit and sailed for Surat. A short time after returning to Bombay, he sailed for Madagascar. He had begun helping all those with whom the East India Company had a quarrel. From Madagascar he went to Bengal, and then came to Bombay, where he commenced quarrelling with the Governor and Council. Col. Biddulph speaks, as said above, of the help he gave to Rustam Manock's son, Bomanji, and adds: "He told the Council that they were only traders, and had no power to punish anybody. The Crown alone had power to punish. He (Matthews) represented the Crown and was answerable only to the King of England."⁴⁸⁷ In the end, it was not Bomanji's son that Matthews took with him to England, but it was his brother. "From Surat also he carried to England the broker's son, Rustamji Nowroji to worry the Directors."⁴⁸⁸ He arrived in England in July 1724. That, then, we must take also as the date of the arrival at England of Nowrojee who accompanied him. The Salisbury was the ship in which Nowrojee is said to have sailed. That ship joined, as said above, a ship of Matthew's squadron. On his arrival, the Directors, on reports from here, complained against him (Matthews) for misbehaviour before the naval authorities who asked for witnesses, but the same not being produced, the charge against him was dropped. Then, the naval authorities court-martialled him in December 1724. The Court was "unani-

⁴⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 175. ⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 196-197. ⁴⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 199. The proper name is Nowroji Rustamjee Manockji (Rustam Manock), but as it often happens, even now, European writers, following the European method of nomenclature, mention the father's name first. *Vide* my *Gujarati History of the Parsee Panchayet* (p. 40), for a reference to Nowroji's visit to England.

mously of opinion, that the said Captain Matthews hath in all respects complied with his Instructions, except that of receiving Merchandise on board before the late Act of Parliament." However, the Court found him guilty of sending his "men irregularly to Merchant Ships.....(and) Resolved that he be Mulcted four Months' pay."⁴⁸⁹

In a letter of Sir Nicholas Waite, dated "Bombay Castle, March 3rd, 1706-7," to the New United Company, Sir Nicholas defends himself against the charge hurled against him, that it was he who had got Rustam Manock imprisoned. He says: "Yet after Rustomjee was dismissed and to obviate out Charge of Indigo over valued &ca. joined with Sir John⁴⁹⁰ to corroborate what he had often asserted home, that he had been detained by my bribing the Government when in Suratt: which if fact why was the French and Dutch under restraint or Sr. Jno⁴⁹⁰ &ca. not free and at liberty since my coming hether 9 ber 1704, to leave that City and Embarke when and where they pleased."⁴⁹¹

Col. Yule, while giving an extract from Sir Nicholas Waite's letter, dated 3rd March 1706-7, to the New Company, speaks of him as "malignant, wrong-headed, and muddle-headed Sir Nicholas Waite."⁴⁹²

Estimate of Sir Nicholas Waite's Character.

Governor Pitt in his letter dated 19th September

⁴⁸⁹ Biddulph's *Pirates of Malabar*, p. 200. Col. Biddulph seems to have been much influenced by the papers sent from the Indian factories to England, and thus, to have done some injustice both to Matthews and to Rustam Manock's sons, Bomanji and others. The above decision of the Court-martial, as given by himself, shows that Matthews, however hot-tempered he may have been, was working constitutionally, and so, he was found innocent. As to the injustice done by him to Rustam Manock, the letter from the Directors of the East India Company proves this.

⁴⁹⁰ Sir John Gayer.

⁴⁹¹ The *Diary of William Hedges* (1681-87) by Colonel Henry Yule (1887) Vol. II p. CXLVI.

⁴⁹² The *Diary of William Hedges during his agency of Bengal* (1681-1687) by Col. Yule (1888), Vol. II; p. CXLV.

1706 says : “ If your selves did hear what character in this place there is given of Bombay, and the person that is att the head of your Affairs there, you wou’d not blame his (Mr. Brabourne’s) refusal,⁴⁹³ for I have hearde severall say that he had rather be a private Centenell in Fort St. George then to serve as Second under Sr. Nicholas ; and if itt be true, what all say that come thence, I can make no other judgement (I wish I may be mistaken) then that he’ll ruine all, and yett I hear he’s the New Company’s Saint.”⁴⁹⁴

We gather following particulars about Bahmanji, the second *son of Rustam Manock*. In 1723, *i.e.*, two years after his father’s death in 1721, he came to Bombay *referred to in the Documents*, to seek redress for his brother Framji, who was confined at Surat by the Mogul Governor, Moumin Khan, at the instance of the English factors. On his coming to Bombay, he also was confined at his house by the officers of the East India Company here. He was ordered to be released in 1724 at the instance of the Home authorities.⁴⁹⁵ It seems that, since his release, he continued to live in Bombay. In 1739, we find him and his brother Framji as two signatories—the others being 22 Hindus and 5 Mahomedans—to a Memorial to the Government that in view of the Mahratha incursions on Bombay, better steps be taken for its protection and “ the wall may be fortified ”. The people of Bombay had already subscribed a sum for protecting Bombay by a good wall, and they said that, to bring up the sum to the required amount of Rs. 30,000, an extra cess of one per cent. may be charged for the time being.⁴⁹⁶

In 1742, he took an active part in Bombay in collecting money for a Tower of Silence at Bharthana near Surat.⁴⁹⁷ He is said to have been a man of great influence among the East India Company’s officers here.⁴⁹⁸ He was a member of the then Parsee Panchayet of

⁴⁹³ He was desired to be the Deputy Governor under the New United Company. ⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid*, p. CXLVII.

⁴⁹⁵ *Vide* Document No. 1 for particulars.

⁴⁹⁶ Parsee Prakash I, pp. 853-54 *Vide* Selections from the Letters, Despatches, and other State papers, preserved in the Bombay Secretariat, Maratha Series, by G. W. Forrest, Vol. I. (1885), Introduction p. V.

⁴⁹⁷ Parsee Prakash I, p. 36.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid* p. 87, n. 2.

Bombay, in the regular foundation and administration of which he is said to have taken an active part.⁴⁹⁹ He went through the ceremony of Navarhood in Samvat 1757, i.e., 1701 A.C.⁵⁰⁰ He was adopted by his uncle Behram and so, in religious ritual, his name was mentioned as Bahman Behram. We find the entry about his Navarhood in the Naosari Fahrest (Samvat 1757) as follows : રોજ ૧૬ મા. ૮ એ. બેમન એ. બેરામ એ. માનેક એ. ચાંદનાં એ. ફર-
દુન ની. એ. બેરામ એ. માનેક એ. ચાંદનાં અનોશરવાન ફા. ફરાતમ માનેક ચાંદનાં
I give my translation amplifying the abbreviations in full : Trans-
lation.—Roz 16, mah 8, (Samvat 1757). *Ervad*⁵⁰¹ *Beman Ostâ Berâm*
ostâ Mâneck. osta Chāndnā, osta Fardun (in the) *nayat* (of) *Ostâ*
Beram ostâ Maneck; Ostâ Chāndnā anosharavān Farmeyashna
Rustam Maneck Chāndnā.

As to the eldest son Framji, he took an active part in the affairs of the Parsees at Surat and of Bombay (Parsee Prakash I, pp. 510, 850, 853). As said above, he was one of the Parsee memorialists to Government asking for a fortified wall in Bombay.

As to the youngest Nowroji, the pupil of the author of the Qisseh, on his return from England, the visit of which is referred to in the documents, he settled in Bombay. The Nowrojee Hill in Bombay commemorated his name. In his visit of England, he is said to have been accompanied by his sister's son Bhikhaji Kharshedji Wāchā (P. Prakash I, p. 86, n. 1). He died on 13th April 1732.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ *Vide* the Navar Fehrest (નાવસારોની વડી દરેખે ફેરેસ્તમાં થયેલા નાવરોની ફેરેસ્ત), compiled by Ervad Māhyār Naoroj Kutār, vol. I, p. 77. Entry No. 632.

⁵⁰¹ For this and other technical religious terms used in this passage of the Fehrest, *vide* the Introduction of the above Fehrest; *vide* also my "Religious Ceremonies and Customs of the Parsees."

APPENDIX I.

A FEW IMPORTANT DATES.

- (1) *Dates of a few important Events connected with the Trade of the West with the East, and connected with the History of India, before and during the times of Rustam Manock.*

The Crusades, which first brought the West into	A. C.
closer contact with the East	1095-1291
The Portuguese under Vasco da Gama discovered the sea-route to India, and began trading with the East, thus breaking the monopoly of Genoa and Venice which traded by the land route	1500
Mahmud Bigarhâ of Gujarat (reigned 1459-1511) lost his fleet in a battle with the Portuguese, fought off Diu ⁵⁰²	1509
Goa captured by the Portuguese	1510
Baber proclaimed King at Delhi after the defeat of Sultan Ibrahim Lodi at Panipat	1526
Accession of Humayun to the throne at Delhi ..	1530
Akbar born	1542
Humayun, returning from his flight to Kabul, re-conquered India	1555
Akbar appointed Governor of Punjab	1555
Akbar came to throne	1556
Overthrow of the Hindu kingdom of Vijayanagar which gave "a serious blow to the prosperity" of Goa, which did business with it	1565
Father Thomas Steven, the first Englishman to land in India, landed at Goa, though not for trade (Died 1619)	1578
Portugal united with Spain under Philip II, a bigoted Catholic Monarch. This Union weakened Portugal.	1580
Queen Elizabeth gave a Charter to a small Company, known as the Levant Company and also as the Turkey Company	1581

⁵⁰² Vide Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed. (1916), p. 133.

This Company sent out Newberry, Fitch, Leeds and others to the East, by the overland route of Aleppo, Basra and Hormuz, with a letter from Elizabeth to Akbar	A. C. 1583
They arrived in Akbar's Court	1585
Philip II's Dutch subjects of the Netherlands, where seeds of the Reformation were first sown, revolted against his bigotry. So, Philip, to punish them for the Revolt, stopped their intercourse with Portugal from where they received the commodities of the East. So, the Dutch, being thus deprived from having Eastern commodities from Portugal, began trading independently with the East	1594
Private Dutch trading Companies united to form "The United East India Company of the Netherlands" ⁵⁰³	1602
Englishman Middenhall came to India, <i>via</i> Aleppo and Persia, at the head of a Commercial Union ..	1603
Akbar died	1605
William Hawkins, commanding Hector, the first English ship coming to India, arrived at Swally near Surat	1608
Hawkins arrived at Jahangir's Court at Agra with a letter from King James	1609
The English established a Factory at Maslipatam ..	1611
The first English Factory in Surat	1612
Aurangzeb born	1618
The people of Denmark sought trade with India and "founded a settlement at Tranquebar in the Tanjore district" (Later on, they occupied Serampore near Calcutta, but, in the end, sold their Indian settlements to the British and left)	1620
Shivaji born	1627
Rustam Manock born	1635
The English founded a Factory at Vizhingam in Travancore	1644

⁵⁰³ Smith's Oxford Student's History of India, 6th ed., p. 163.

The Establishment of the East India Company in Madras	A. C. 1658
Murad, a son of Shah Jahan, attacked Surat, to have a big loan from the rich men of the city. November	1658
Aurangzeb imprisoned his father Shah Jahan and came to throne. (Ruled from 1658 to 1707 for 60 years) 31st July	1658
Formal grand Coronation Ceremony of the enthronement of Aurangzeb 5th June	1659
Aurangzeb abolished ancient Persian Calendar ..	1659
Shivaji killed Afzul Khan	1659
Bombay given as dowry to Charles II. The cession was intended as "check on the Dutch power" ..	1661
Aurangzeb received the first of the Foreign missions or Embassies, the last being in October 1667 February	1661
Shivaji's First Sack of Surat	1664
Treaty of Purandhar between Aurangzeb and Shivaji	1665
Shah Jahan died	1665
Shivaji's flight to Raigarh from Aurangzeb's Court	1666
Bombay given by Charles II to the East India Co. ..	1668
Temporary Peace between Aurangzeb and Shivaji ..	1668
War again renewed	1670
Second Sack of Surat by Shivaji	1670
Imposition of Jazieh by Aurangzeb about	1672
Shivaji solemnly crowned	1674
Shivaji died 5th April	1680
Rustam Manock signs, as leader, a communal document relating to the Naosari and Sanjana priests. 6th June	1685
Establishment of the East India Company in Bombay	1687
Moghal Power at its zenith	1688

	A. C.
Calcutta founded	1690
Aurangzeb died	1707
Jamshed Kaikobad wrote his Qisseh	1711
Rustam Manock died	1721
(2) <i>A few dates about the English Factories in India.</i>	
The first English Factory or Trading Station established at Surat	1608
English Factory at Surat, "confirmed by Imperial grant after the naval victory over the Portuguese in 1612" ⁵⁰⁴	1612
King James sent Sir Thomas Roe as ambassador to Jahangir	1615
Sir Thomas Roe left India "He failed to obtain the Treaty which he asked for" ⁵⁰⁵	1618
A site given to the British at Madras, by "the Raja of Chandragiri, in consideration of a yearly rent" and a Conveyance was made "in favour of Mr. Francis Day," a Member of Council in the Agency at Masalipatam	1640
English Factory at Rajapore opened	1649
English factory of Rajapore sacked by Shivaji	1661
Bombay ceded to the English by the Portuguese	1661
English factory at Surat withstood Shivaji's first sack.	1664
English Factory at Karvar sacked	1665
Charles II leased Bombay to the East India Company for £10 a year. The transfer was made to Sir George Oxendon who was Governor of Surat from 1663 to 1669	1668
Aungier, governor of Surat Factory, from	1669-1677
English Factory at Surat about to be sacked second time by Shivaji	1670
Aungier came down to Bombay from Surat	1671

⁵⁰⁴ V. Smith's "The Oxford Student's History of India" 6th. ed., p. 164.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

	A. C.
English Factory at Hubli sacked	1673
Aungier returned to Surat	1675
Bombay became the Head-quarters of the British in Western India in the time of Sir Josia Child ..	1683

(3) *A few dates about Bernier, who visited India in the
time of Aurangzeb.*

Francis Bernier born	1620
Charles I. began to reign	1625
Bernier's travels in Europe	1647-50
Bernier passes Doctor's examination	1652
Bernier visits Palestine and Syria	1654
Goes to Egypt	1656-58
Reaches Surat in the end of 1658 or beginning of ..	1659
Engaged as Physician by Dara at Ahmedabad. March or April	1659
Dara having been compelled to run away, Bernier places himself under the protection of a Mogul noble	1659
Restoration of Charles II. May	1660
Bernier at Delhi 1st July	1663
Bernier travels with the Noble in Aurangzeb's suite to Kashmir, starting on 14th December	1664
Arrives at Lahore 25th February	1665
At Allahabad on 6th December	1665
Bernier and Tavernier part company .. 6th January	1666
Bernier at Golconda	1667
Meets Chardin at Surat	1667
Embarks at Surat for Persia	1667
At Shiraz on 4th October	1667
Continues in Persia	1668
At Marseilles April-May	1669

French King grants License for publishing his Travels	.. .. . 25th April	A. C. 1670
Visits England	.. .. .	1685
Died	.. .. . 22nd September	1688

(4) *A few dates relating to Aurangzeb.*

Aurangzeb born	.. .. . 24th October	1618
Imprisoned his father and came to throne.	31st July	1658
Grand formal Coronation	.. .. . 5th June	1659
Issue of Islamic Ordinances, e.g., the cancelling of Naoroz	.. .. . end of June	1659
Suleman Shelko, son of Dara, brought to Court in chains	.. .. . 27th December	1660
Murad murdered	.. .. . 4th December	1661
Went to Mukteshwar to suppress brothers' rebellion in Bengal	.. .. . 13th November	1659
Returned to Delhi	.. .. . 13th February	1660
The first of the Foreign Ambassadors Mission arrived	.. .. . February	1661
Started for Kashmir	.. .. . 8th December	1662
Returned from Kashmir to Delhi	.. .. . January 19,	1664
Shah Jehan died	.. .. .	1665
Another Enthronement on Shah Jahan's death	March	1660
The Hoarding of the reigns of 3 Emperors which were removed from Agra to Delhi were brought back to Agra in 1,400 carts	.. .. . May	1666
The Court returned to Delhi where it remained for 7½ years (two years in this period Dec. 1669 to Oct. 1671 were spent at Agra)	.. .. . October	1666
Imposed Jazieh	.. .. . about	1672
The Visit of the English Ambassador with Rustam Manock at his camp	.. .. . about	1701
His Death	.. .. .	1707

A. C.

- (5) *A few important dates about the Rule of the Siddi at Dandeh-i Rajpuri, which was visited by Rustam Manock, and the adjoining country.*

An Abyssinian colony of Siddis at Rajpur and the adjoining country	.. ..	Early in the 16th Century.
One of them became the Governor of Dandeh-i Rajpuri under the Ahmednagar Sultanate.		Early in 17th Century.
When Ahmednagar fell, the Siddi became somewhat independent and was recognized by the Bijapore Sultanate as its representative	.. ..	1636
Yusuf Khan Seedi ruled at Janjira	.. ..	1642-55
He was succeeded by Fath Khan	.. ..	1655-57
The Revolution	.. ..	1670
Fath Khan imprisoned by the Siddis for offering to surrender to Shivaji, and the Siddi fleet transferred from the overlordship of Bijapore to that of the Delhi Emperor	.. ..	1670
Siddi Sambal created Admiral and Siddi Qasim and Siddi Khairyat, commanders of Janjira and land territory of Rajpur, respectively. The title of Yaqut Khan conferred on successive admirals	.. ..	1671 ⁵⁰⁶
Siddi Qasim, surnamed Yaqut Khan, re-captured Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Shivaji's hand during the Holi festival	.. ..	March 1671
Siddi Sambal, the admiral, returned to Dandeh-i Rajpuri from Surat	.. ..	May 1673
Siddi Sambal attacked Shivaji's admiral Daulat Khan in the Ratnagiri district	.. ..	March 1674
Siddi Sambal removed from Admiralship by the Moghal Emperor and Siddi Qasim (Yaqut Khan) appointed Admiral and governor of Danda Rajpuri	.. ..	May 1676
Siddi Qasim (Yaqut) compelled Shivaji to raise the Siege of Janjira	.. ..	December 1676

⁵⁰⁶ Prof. Sarkar says it was in or after 1674.

Siddi Sambal had not delivered as yet the fleet to Yaqut. Both met at Bombay and came to blows and, finally, through the mediation of the English Council, the quarrel was settled and Qasim was installed as admiral	October	A. C. 1677
Qasim left Bombay with the fleet ..	November	1677
Qasim returned to Bombay with his fleet for rest during the Monsoons	April	1678
Shivajee sent 4,000 men to Panvel, to burn from there Qasim's fleet. They failed	July	1678
Siddi Qasim plundered Shivaji's Alibag coast country		1678
Siddi Qasim inactive in Bombay, for want of funds from the Mogals at Surat to pay his men, &c. ..		1679
The Siddi occupied and fortified Underi (Henneri)	9th January	1680
Qasim burnt many villages at Pen ..	February	1680
Qasim joined the English in the attack upon Shivaji's island of Kenneri	November	1680

THE PERSIAN TEXT OF THE QISSEH OF RUSTAM MANOCK

BY MOBAD JAMSHED KAIKOBAD.

بنام ایزد بخشاینده مهربان

این قصه سیت رستم مانک باشنده بشهر سورت

تصنیف موبد جمشید کیقباد

بنائید یزدان و پروردگار	یکی قصه نو کلم آشکار
که جز نام او هیچکار انصرام	نگردد بخوبی و نیکی تمام
خدایکم آورده چرخ برین	نکارنده اختران و زمین
چو چاچی کمان حقه سبز را	ز پشت دوتا ساختش داورا
چنان حقه گردان طبق بر طبق	بیاراستش نو بنان توطی
نگار کواکب بر آنها نکاشت	حرکت ازان چند را برکداشت
چو از مهر و ماه و ز بهرام و تیر	ز اورمزد و ناپید و کیوان پیر
کمی و فزونی گیتی‌ش داد	ز گردان شان شرو نیکی‌ش داد
ابر مایها مهره خاک را	معلق نمود ایزد بر ترا
ابا او مکان و جهان و زمان	نمودش هم از قدرت خود عیان
بکرد از موالید آباد ارض	شعاندرو از مه و هور ارض
هم بنده مخلوق و هم کاینات	مر از آخشهجان بکردش ثبات
زیک قطره آب منی جسم و جان	براطه شد از قادر غیب‌دان
پدید آوری از عدم در وجود	ز ناچیز چیزی پدید نمود
که او هست بر هستی خود کمال	خدایکه بیچون و هم بی همال
خداوند رادی و هم راستی	نفور از پوایش و از کاستی
خدایکه بر دو جهان پایدار	ثوانا و پانا و آمرزگار

خرة و ریومند و هم دادگر
 ز فهم وز دانش بود کارساز
 خدایک بر بنده را دستگیر
 هم او بنده را جرم آمرزگار
 پذیرنده عذر و مشکل کشای
 همو عادلست و هم او پیش بین
 بود فروش بفهاد قابان ترین
 گراگر گرو آچم و ورسناست
 رحیم و عظیمست و هم پر نوال
 بجز نیکیش نیست اندیشه بار
 نه یکنره خواب و خورش و طلب
 توانا و دانافر و کارساز
 بخوایم مدد اندرین ابتدا
 رسد با مراد دلم آشکار
 بجمشید بن موبد کیقباد
 بکن رحم بر روح آن ایزدا
 که این نظم من به شود آبدار
 که پایان شود خوب این ماجرا
 بدارین می یابدش کام خوش
 فزا نیز اندر دلم بس اشو
 دل تیرکی ام ز آبش بشو
 به بخشا خدایا من پر کفاه
 کنم تو به نذرت که شرمندۀ ام

خدایک پاکست و فیروزگر
 خدایک بر وسپ آگاه راز
 خدایک بر هر کسان مهر گیر
 خدایک پاینده پروردگار
 خدایک جان داد و هم عقل و رای
 خدایک ویزست باداد و دین
 خدایک آرنده عرش برین
 خدایک سفا و فر شو قناست
 خدایک دایم بود بی زوال
 خدایک جز خویش نیست کار
 خدایک عامست هر روز و شب
 خدایک آبخن و بی نیاز
 ازان داور پاک هر دو سرا
 که از یاری او سرانجام کار
 خدایا کن از کرم لطف زیاد
 فزون شد عیان نظم این گفتا
 ز تو النجا دارم ای کردگار
 از پرا بده دانش افزون مرا
 بود رهنا هر که را عقل و هوش
 ازان بر من افزا خرد را نکو
 ره بنده کی ام نمای نکو
 خجل کشتم از کرده خود و ناه
 که تو آفریننده ما بنده ام

ز انعام لطف تو ای ذوالجلال
 کشا قفل نواد من از کلید
 که سازم یکی قصه رستمی
 کنون ناظم این نظم پرداز کن
 سخن گفته جمشید را نو بساز
 که داند که فردا چه خواهد بودن
 کرایه داستان از تو شد آشکار
 هراکس که بهدین بخواند مرا این
 بماند که تا جاودان نام تو
 شوی نامور در کهان و مهان
 بدرگاه ایزدان شوی بیگناه

این بیان در باب وصف و بخشش سیت رستم مانک

کنون قصه سیت رستم شنو
 که او پور مانک ز بی یادگار
 نژادش بد از تخمه موبدان
 دل پاک و ویژه تن و مهربان
 که باشنده در شهر سورت هم او
 سراج مجالس زرگشتیان
 همش کُره و باصر سردران
 هم او مردمه دیده مزکیان
 همش کان لطفست و مردانکی
 قدردان غربا و روشی ضمیر
 مبارک خصال و فصاحت بیان
 ملاذ نیازان و هم بیکسان
 شنیده بودی دیگر این هم شنو
 خردمند و داناتر و نامدار
 کرانامه دار و نیک و کاردان
 نورزیده اند دشمنی باکسان
 نگو نیت و خلق و هم راستگو
 بود متکالش زینهاریان
 پتیمان و بچپاره را پروران
 بلند حرمت و آصف و پاکجان
 بقدر دلیری و فرزانیکی
 رفیع اقتدارست و بخت منیر
 سلیم الطبعداد و شیرین زبان
 ستوده شدش هر بجای و مکان

هم از کنج احسان و دریا نوال
 هر جاست مشهور آدای آن
 عیان و نهان بر نهان و مهان
 نوازش کند بیحدش با نوال
 رساند همه خورد و پوشیده شان
 بمقدارش هر سال بخشد که چند
 شود جان شان شاد و ایمان تر
 بهر کار گرفته کند جان فدا
 نماید تصرف بس آن مردم
 تعجب شود هم ز دیدار اوی
 بشوکت چو کبکسرده و منش
 چو تهمورسش کام و هم نامجوی
 بشان جهان پهلوان رستمش
 بد و نامبردار با بُرز و بال
 بدش هم سر زابل و کابلی
 درین گاه کند وصف این هر کسان
 مرا این رستم مانکست نسل کی
 بدش هم سر بهدیلمان و ردان
 شد ستش اکابر ابر که و مه
 شدش نامبردار اندر اقام
 همه بهدیلمان راست بس جاه و آب
 بده خسروان و بلان نبرد

بود چشم دالائی و هم زلال
 که از بخشش و نیکیش بیکران
 سخی همچو حاتم بود این زمان
 دهد هر کسی راز و سیم و مال
 بهتر سال در خانه بپجارکان
 دهد هر کرا خرج باید که چند
 از آن غله و کسوت هر زرز
 هم او میکند پستی دین خدا
 زر و سیم را برون دین به
 هم از چنین کار و کردار اوی
 که جمشید شاه در رخ روشنش
 چو شاه آفریدون بخلقش نکوی
 بفروزالکی و بهمت همش
 که در پیشگاه کیان پور زال
 سر بهلوانان ایران زمی
 بایران بدش وصف در آن زمان
 که شان درین حال فرخنده یی
 بهندوستان سرور موبدان
 ز فرمان ایزدان بهر شهر و ده
 بسی نامی و نامور نیکقام
 که در قوم دیگر از و فخر و قاب
 ز گاه کیومرث تا یزدگرد

مرد آنکسان بل از و زنده اند
 از و شاد مانند شان در بهشت
 بکودست پیدا در پی روزگار
 بیودست بافر و با دستکاه
 بهحفظ داری و شادش بقا
 بود سازی عمرش درازی و سور
 بکنج و مراد دلش با امان
 ورا بخت بیدار پاینده دار
 بهداریش با شوکت خسروی
 بهداری درخشان چو بدر منیر
 بهدادیش تا جاودان شاد کام
 برستم بدرگاه ایزدان قبول
 مدامش بهداراد با ناز و شاد
 اشوفر و هوان یادگاهش بباد
 بهر سال دولت فزاینده باد
 بهماناد دایم ابا شاد کام
 بهر کام باداش بالا سخن
 بهدادا فزونتر بفضل و هنر
 بهماناد دایم به بهدین چست
 فزونتر بهداداش تا زندگی
 بهماناد مر این ورا بر زبان
 بهر روز بادا بجانش فرود
 زبس گرفته اش دیو ناچاره باد

مر آن خسروان کیان مرده اند
 که او هست زان شاه ویلان سرشت
 ازیرا که زان شاه ورا کردگار
 که در شهر هندی توکوی که شاه
 الهی ز بلیات دوران ورا
 که تا بر فلک انجم و ماه و هور
 مُخلّد بهداریش بر نو جوان
 کفی دشمنانش نکونسار و خوار
 ز دولت ز ابناش پشت قوی
 بهمیشش بر از عقل و روشن ضمیر
 بهر شهر بر جای دادیش نام
 کلام دعا این بهدادا وصول
 خداوند بینی نگهدار باد
 هم امشاسفندان پناهش بهداد
 سهرش مددکار پاینده باد
 ز فرزند فرزند او نیکنام
 بر شاه و میران و بر انجم
 بهمیشش بهر جاش فیروزگر
 بن زورمند و بجان نغدرست
 بهایی و صافی و در بندگی
 هم زند و دستا بروز و شبان
 خرد آسئیده و کوشو سرود
 دفع از تفس دیو پتیاره باد

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه در زمان شاه
اورنگ زیب بر پارسیان خراج جزیه نهاده بود ازان
جزیه پارسیانرا مذکور سیت رهانیده

دیگر داستان مر این وصف نو	بگویم ز جم گفتهایش شنو
که در دور سلطان اورنگ زیب	بزرگشتیان جزیه شد بانہیب
ازان ہر غریب و یتیم و کسان	بدوندن حیران ز ظلمش بجان
ہر از جور جزیه ہمہ درد مند	بدرگاہ رستم فراز آمدند
بفریاد و زاری بگفتند شان	کہ ای رستم مانک پاک جان
ز جزیه بما بس ستم میرسد	زن و بچہ را درد و غم میرسد
پریشان و حیران نماید فزون	کند مردم آزاریش پر زبون
بداریم ای رستم امید ازان	کہ از جزیه ظالمان زمان
رہانی ہم داد گیری بما	کنی چارہ جان ما از عطا
چو بشنید رستم بگفتار شان	بخطا طر بیارود رحمت کران
برای رہانیدنش جست کار	بہ تدبیر نکو پر از یادگار
کہ رفتش بدیوان میر بزرگ	بدادہ دراکنج چندین سترک
کرفتش دکو نیز بار گران	ابر ذمہ خویش از طرف شان
کہ از سویی خود دادنش سیم وزر	پذیرفت ہر سال چندی ہمر
رہانید شانرا ز ظلم کران	معافش کنانید ہر جزیه شان
نجاتی چوشان یافت از جزیه خویش	ہمہ کس دعا کوشدش صد زبیش
کہ ای رستم نیکنام بزرگ	رہانید مارا ز رنج سترک
ز اقبال تو خانمانہای ما	برستند و ورنہ مکانہای ما
ز فروخ فلش نیز جزیه تمام	نمیداد و بودہ بسختی مدام
خدا دارد آبادت اندر عوام	تسلل دولت رسد تا قیام

که از تو برستم و یابدم امان شوی نامور در کهان و مهان
چو از کنج مارا خریدی و باز پر از مهر آزاد کردی بنواز
چنان کرد احسان بر ما هم دبی حال رخصت اگر ما هم
رویم بر مکان خود از شاد دل شویم در حقت در دعا مشغول
ز رخصت گرفتش بس آنگاه تمام برفتند با آفرینها کلام

در باب وصف سیت رستم مانک اینکه چندین مردمان
از قوم جددینان برای جزیه بدست حاکم گرفتار شده
بودند اوشان رانیز مذکور سیت از بندر هانیده

چو آوازه بخشش رستم این در افواه عالم شده بآفرین
ثنا خوان شدند هر کسش جابجا ز همت بلندش تعجب بسا
وزان پس بسی مرد قوم دیگر که بودند غربا و ناچار تر
بدر بار حاکم ببودند قید مران نیز از جزیه بودند صید
زن و نوردیدان شان پر زار بر رستم مانک نامدار
بیاورد شان داد خواهی که ما گرفتاریم بس بسختی که ما
که مارا نبوده توان جزیه داد ازان باب سختی بما بر کشاد
که والد و هم شوهران مرا گرفتند در قید بس با جفا
مُحَصِّل بما نیز بکداشتند ز بهر زر جزیه بکماشتند
و بی مایه زر نباشد برم کزین جای حاکم بداده رهم
طلب هم بکیرند هر روز روز مُحَصِّل بگوید زبون تا هُوز
بر ما ازان رستم بس ایذاست کسی جز تو غمخوار مانیست راست
کرم ساز و هم دستگیری ما زر جزیه ایم استعانت نما
ز بهر نجاتی ما چاره جوی باند جهان نیست جز این نکوی

که بپساره و ناتوان لاغریم
 شکم پر نشد هم ز مزدوریم
 چو بشنید رستم ازیشان سخنی
 بی‌آورد لطف کرانش بتنی
 ز نظر کرم بخشش بیش را
 بنوشیروان نایب خویش را
 بفرمود او را که از کنج گیر
 زرش چند باید بدیوان امیر
 برد هر چه باشد مر او را بلیغ
 زر جزیه ایشان بده بیدریغ
 بکن راضیش این هم را ز قید
 پس آن موجب حکم سازید کار
 چو فارغ شدند آن هم از جفا
 ز عزت بر سیت ایستاده شان
 که با پسران دولنت ایزدا
 هزاران دعا در حقش برده شان
 که ما از ایذا و بلاي سترک
 باآباد داراد و زی تا بقا
 هم پس اجازت ز سیتش بخواست
 رهاکشم از لطف توای بزرک
 وزانجا بخندان و نازان براه
 وداع کرد شانرا ارادت ز راست
 ز جمشید ای رستم نیک کار
 شدند آن همه کس بآرامگاه
 که در نظم مدد نوشت اینچنین
 کلام تو این خوب را یاد دار
 که از ظلم جزیه دهاند کسی
 که در نظم مدد نوشت اینچنین
 دهد خاص او را خدای جهان
 بزرگشت اسفتمانش روان
 از برا ازین کفره برتری
 مراد دلت هم بر آرد بزود
 شود بار تو ایزد امشاسفند
 ز ایزدان بیایي بسی آفرین
 بدارین ازین فیض یابی فزود
 نماید فروهر پناه بلند
 ز ایزدان بیایي بسی آفرین

درباب اینک هرگاه که سیوه گنی نام حاکمی بالشکرخود
در شهر سورت از هر چهار سوی آمده بود و زرتشتیان
را بسیار عذیت رسانیده بود و براوشان خراج ظلمانه
نهاده بود درانوقت از طرف هم زرتشتیان سیت
رستم مانک بسیار زر خرچ کرده هم را از خراج ظلمانه
رهانیده بود

ز کوش خرد بشنو و هم نکر	بگویم مرایی داستان دگر
بحشم فراوان چو اهریمنی	که آمد بر شهر سیوه گنی
ز هر چهار طرفش گرفتند و برد	زن و مرد با کودکان شیرخورد
نبودند شان جز خدا دستگیر	نمودند در حبس شان چون اسیر
ببردند غارت زهر بیت انس	قماش و زر و سیم و کالا و جنس
بشهر و بده و بزله بلیغ	وزان کیر و دارش فناده گریغ
ز ظلمش ستوه آمدند هر تنای	برافروخت آتش بهر جایها
مراز ترس زر داده ظلمانه بس	فتادند در عاجزی چند کس
بکویانش بر نوردید و زنان	به بلد افتاده بودند آن کسان
رسد ظلم مارا بس از بدقنی	که از بلد ناپاک سیوه گنی
نباشد زدست بد و بد نهاد	نجاتی بجز ظلمانه بداد
بماتم فتادند اندر سرا	چو بشنید آنها همی ماجرا
ز غارت هم از سوز خانه بتوش	که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش
شکسته بودند حال شان پر خجل	هم باتن خویش پژمرده دل
بر رستم مانک داد خواه	به بیچارگی شان بزاری و آه
که از ظلم سیوه گنی باهراس	هم آمدند و نمود التماس

شدستیم زخمی و بیچاره حال
 گرفتندش هر مردم خانه ما
 بهر مرد ظلمانه نا خلف
 بما هیچ طاقت نباشد که آن
 چو اهریمنی آمدش بدتری
 ابا اوسپاه هست بنجم هزار
 یکی آهوزبان دگر دیویان
 همه موضع و سرزمین پر دو مرد
 زر و زیور و جامه و دانه
 ازان پس دران خانه آتش زدند
 دران چندتن را هم از جان بکشت
 ببردند همچون اسیران به بند
 فنادند در زاری و هم نیاز
 وزانجا چو ما چند بگریختیم
 بسی رنجیم پر ز درد و غمش
 برت آمده ایم وز اقبال تو
 بدانیم تحقیقیم نا امید
 که بیچارگان را تویی چاره ساز
 ازان رستما دستگیریم کنی
 که قاجار و دان نام نیکت ازین
 وزین پس بماند سخی یادگار
 دگر هم همی داستان زند
 که از کف خود داده بود زالطافات

که تاراجش اسباب ما کرد و مال
 ز ستم نهایت زندش فرا
 نموده بخواید زر ده الف
 زر ظلمانه بدادیم توان
 شده دشمن شهر و ده یکسری
 سر لشکرش دو بود کبر و دار
 بودش دشمن کل زرنشیان
 ز غارت زیادت بپیرانش کرد
 ببردند غارت ز هر خانه
 بسوزاد و تاراج کرده شدند
 کسان چند را بسته دست و پشت
 بسی رنج و ظلمش درانجا کشند
 جز ایزد کسی یاری شان نساز
 درین چند زخمی هم آمیختیم
 بامید بوییم ازین ماتمش
 بر امید داریم ز املال تو
 نکردنده باز از حضور سعید
 بوی مستدامت غریبان نواز
 رهایش کن از بند اهریمنی
 بماند همه کس کنند آفرین
 نباشد که چون رستم نیککار
 چو رستم ماثوبت که کس نه کند
 همه بندیان را نمودش نجات

ز هر کوله دشوارهای کران
 همی چند گفتارهای بزار
 بخاطر برآورد رحمت کران
 کزین نیکویی خواهد ماند ابد
 ازین دویک از غیب آید عیان
 همی دولت کینگی بر عفا
 که این زر نموده بکس پایدار
 چنینست دنیای دون کاروبار
 بدل آنچنان کرد اندیشه کار
 رهانید شانرا بر از ظلم ابس
 پس آنکه باقبال رستم هم
 کفون جم بگوید در اینجا چنین
 چو بدکار افراسیاب درشت
 دران حین هم چند دانا کسان
 همان هر یکی را بکردن زدند
 بآن وقت اغریث نیک کار
 که باشد همی یکسر بیگناه
 ازین گفته اغریث افراسیاب
 نمودند شان را به بند حبس باز
 بس اغریث از رحمت اختتام
 بطلبید کشواد را با خدم
 رهانید ایرانیان را ز قید
 نوشتش بیامد مراد
 رهانید او از بلای کران
 چو بشنید آن رستم نامدار
 که این مردمانرا بیاید رهان
 که دو چیز ماند مر از نیک و بد
 ز بعد گذشته بمردم بسان
 بامروز باشد بفردا فغا
 نکردند؟ چرخ هم برقرار
 ازان به که نیکی بود یادگار
 بدادش بران مبلغ ده هزار
 هم را بدادش خور و نقل و لبس
 نمود آفرینی و شدند آن رسته
 که بعد از مینوچهر شاه کزین
 شمه نوذر تاجور را بکشت
 گرفتار بردند همراه آن
 نمودش اشارت که بر هر شدند
 بشه آمده خواسته زینهار
 مکن جان شان را تو هرگز تبا
 بدل مهر آورد و کشت از عتاب
 سپرده باغریث سرفراز
 پیغامی فرستاد بر زال سام
 که او آمده با سپاه عجم
 ببرد آنکه افتاده شان همچو صید
 رسیدش بایرانیان رو برو

چو اغریٹ آگاہ ازین ماجرا
 شدہ از لہان چارہ جستش فرا
 کہ رفتش ابا چند مردانہ آب
 بہیچک بہانہ بافراسیاب
 درانکاہ رہانیدہ کشواد گُرد
 ہم قید یانرا بزابل ببرد
 چو زمین کار آگاہ شد افراسیاب
 باغریٹ آورد او بس عتاب
 بزودی جواز از میان برکشید
 بزد بر جگر گاہ و شکمش درید
 دو پارہ نمودش ابا ذوالفقار
 تنش را بخاک اندر افکند خوار
 ایا دانشی مرد بسیار ہوش
 چو اغریٹ در جہان نیک کوش
 بباب نیکوی چہ شیرین کلام
 بکفتست فردوسی نیک نام
 کہ تخم بدی تا توانی مکار
 مجوی بجز نیکوی زینہار
 بکینی دران کوش تا بکذری
 سرانجام نیکیت با خود بری
 ہی کفج و دینار و خانہ بلند
 اگر چرخ کردان کشد زین تو
 چودانی کہ این است ناپایدار
 سرانجام خاکست بالین تو
 کہ اغریٹ از کار خود نیکوی
 چودانی کہ این است ناپایدار
 دز ابتر بورزیدن افراسیاب
 سیت رستم بمہر
 امائل این داستان آن جہت
 ہم را رہانید ازدست خویش
 چو اغریٹ آن سیت رستم بمہر
 چنین بخشش وہم مٹوبت چنان
 کزین کار کردہ بجارید نام
 نہ کس بر غریبان کُند بیگمان
 بہ نیکي بماندہ عیان والسلام
 فرستاد زادہ بہشتش بہ بیش
 ز بند گنی سیوہ ناپاک چہر
 بہ نیکي بماندہ عیان والسلام

درباب اینک سیت رستم مانک بهر جای چاه و پولهای
نوبنا کرده و باغها و ایوانهای نو ساخته بود و بکار
ثواب و نیکوی فرض خود را ادا کرده بود

دگر کار اوقات رستم به پیش
که از جای راه تبه مردمان
بران جایهای ره پر خراب
ز سنگ و ز کج جسد ها را به بست
کزان یافت راحت همه مردمان
دیگر بود خارج و ویران زمین
دران بوستان و چمنهای خوب
چنان باغ و ایوانهای شهی
که باغ ارم را فراموش کند
بماند دران کر کسی دردمند
ز کلهای رنگین دران کونه کون
ابر شاخ اشجارش مرغان سرود
چنان اندران باغها بوی نغز
دران است کاریز فوارها
کزان بوی باغات و آرای کاخ
که نونو مکانها دران جمله باغ
برافراشت آن کر ز کج بارخام
ز آینه ها و ز بلورینهایش
چو فردوس بزم نشین کاه او

برش کن ز جانت هزار آفرین
بحیران بودند آمد و رفتگان
به پیشه و هم بر لب رود آب
ز کار محکم بهمراب پست
برستند از سختی بیکران
بکردش بران باغها چون نکین
مکانهای زیبا بکردش عجب
نمودش چو فردوس منزلکی
زدیدار آن جان و دل خوش کند
ز فضل خدا باشدش سودمند
باشجار ثمرش بود بی نمون
نمایند دایم بیالا فزود
کزان بوی میکردد آسوده مغز
عجایب تماشای کلزارها
بود پیر بیکبار برنا شماخ
درخشنده محنش که چون شب چراغ
چو کوهری رنگ و نقشش تمام
ز قمخواب اندوده اسباب جاش
تو کوئی که انجم سرشته درو

برای خودش داشت و هم‌پایان
 نمایند هم شادی و جشنگاه
 بی‌باغ فراخ و بجای سترک
 برای نهادست زرتشتیان
 کند کار شادی و جشن گران
 بنوازند و بازند بآن جایگاه
 دران باغ یابند هرکس امان
 بشهر و بده و بدشت سترک
 بهر جا متینش مرات المثل
 نمانید حوضهای خوردش بره
 چون دید و ویسپرد و یشت و هاست
 همان مستمر تابعاً بود بس
 هم از نیت هراشو فرد هوان
 کنانید با و ندیداد ویزش
 چه گیتی خریدی و هم نوزودی
 بسی کرد و هم می‌کنش فرض خویش
 ز شادی پوران شان بد به بهم
 همان از کجا کرد شادی بتوش
 ز کج خودش داد و شان ساخت کار
 که شادی پوران غربا نمود
 بهر حال با آب میداشت شاد
 نموده و داده حقوقات شان
 بدادش خلعات و پشمیز بیش

ز کوهر درخشانتر ایوان آن
 دران باغ تجار و میران شاه
 چو مذبور دیگر مکان بزرگ
 بکار وقف کرده آنرا عیان
 ازان یکسر ادنی و عالی بران
 به یشتند هم ایزدان را بگاه
 برفتم بکار خود آرند شان
 دیگر از برای ثواب بزرگ
 به بنداش چاهای آب زلال
 بایوانها آب‌خور یکسره
 دیگر کار گرفته در مهر هاست
 بران دایمش راغباً بود بس
 که هر روز از نیت ایزدان
 درون و میزد آفرینکانیش
 ازین جز به کارها بی‌بردی
 چه دیگر که زنده روان کار کیش
 دیگر آنکه بد هر غریب و یتیم
 که ناچار بودند از خورد و پوش
 بران هر کس آنرا زر به‌شمار
 چنین کار و بارش به‌رسال بود
 دیگر دستور و موبدان را براد
 بشرط بهی کیش خدمات شان
 ابر کاه ته‌نیت خانه خویش

عزیزش ابر داشته مزکیان بکرده فدا بر ره دین روان
 همیشه بودش پیشم راستی بماندیش دور از ره کاستی
 مدامی بهی خواسته هرکرا نورزیده هرگز ره بدترا
 بهر جاش آورد پیمان بجا بهر دم خدا را بیاد آورا
 هران کارها کرفه میکرد زود کزان در جهان نیکنامی فزود
 کمر بسته زودش بجا آورده بفردا همان کار نسپارده

در وصف سیت رستم مانک و سه فرزندانش را بیان کرده است

بگوید جم کیقباد این چنین که بخشش یزدان برستم به بین
 که دادست سه کوهر بی بها ابر یکدیگر بر تر و کیمیا
 چو خورشید پر نور و یزدان پرست بعلم و ادب دانش برترست
 از آنها فرامرز فرخنده ده بی که مهتر نکو خوی مانند کی
 چو سرو دیگر بهمن ره منش زهی حشمت و مکفت و به کنش
 سیم هست نوروز فرخنده نام تن نورمند و زهی پاک کام
 سه پورانش مسطور چون ماه و هور بسا معروفی یافته در دهور
 از انست نوروز هاوشت من فزون پر شکوه بهره عقل و فن
 بشان پدر داردش خوب چهر وفا و نکو سیرت و علم و مهر
 مبارک کند ایزد ابغان و را بکاشانه نور دیدان فرا
 بدادست ایزدان و راجفت پاک که هست آن رتن بانوی زیناک
 دل پاک و هم راست کفتار نیک زهی نیک خلقست و کردار نیک
 سعادت عیان اندرست سیت را که پرورد کارزمین و سما
 بدادش چنین زوجه نیک بی هم ابغان چنان هوشمند و چو کی
 بدارین کزان ماندش دل خوشی که اقدام ابناست بس مروشی

کزین دولتش تا ابد پایدار
 ثنائی جمشید اکتون چنین
 که شان کیومرث و هوشنگ شاه
 چو جمشید و تهمورس پاک جان
 چو شاه آفریدون فرخ کفاد
 ز بهی دستکاه چو مینوچهر و زو
 ببادا چو کاوس و هم کیقباد
 چو کیخسرو و سیاوش پراشو
 چو کشتاسپ لهراسپ و اسفندیار
 متانت دهنده بهی کیش را
 بوی چون شه اردشیر کزین
 ببادا چو نوشیروان قباد
 چو پرویز خسرو بوی ارجمند
 ببادا بشان شه یزدگرد
 چو دستور اردای ویراف پاک
 بشان آذرباد ماراسفند
 چو جاماسپ داننده رمزا
 چو طوس و زدار و زریر دلیر
 بشان یل رستم زال سام
 چو کرشاسپ اسرت جهان پهلوان
 چو میلاد و کیو و فرامرز کرد
 چو کوردز هفتاد پور نکو
 بشان پشوتن اشو در جهان
 ترا آفرینها بروز زیاد
 بماند بفرزند پوران قرار
 ابر سیت رستم کند آفرین
 بوی نام بردار و پرغز و جاه
 ببادا هم رسم را پوران
 پر آباد کیتی و دشمن زناد
 بود و کفان زیر دست عدو
 نکهبان مردم و آرای داد
 تن پاک و احراز شرعی بشو
 ببادا عدوان دین رازدار
 ببادا چو بهمن سعادت فرا
 ردان را بخواننده و اهل دین
 نماینده عدل و بخشش و داد
 بفرز فرادان و قدر بلند
 بواج و نکو سیرت و نیک مرد
 بوی محتبی و رخ تابناک
 کفنده ببادا عبادت و بند
 خردمند تر باد و عاقل ترا
 بهمت قوی باد و روشن فمیر
 جوانمرد ببادا و هم نیکام
 ببادا از بن برکفنده بدان
 بوی کام یابنده و دستبرد
 فرزنی فرزند یابنده شو
 بوی دیر زیونده و شادمان
 ابا نور دیدانت آمین بود

درباب اینک انگریز بهادر نخستین از ملک خویش
بهندوستان در شهر سورت آمد و سیت رستم مانک را
با او ملاقات شد

ز جمشید این داستان دگر	بابواب انگریز بشنو مگر
که از ملک خود آمدش چو بفر	بسورت ابا کنج و دیوار و زر
بکشتی ز دریای آب بزرگ	برهند با کاروان سترک
بملبوس سوداگری بلند	بسوداگری آمدش ارجمند
باو سیت رستم ملاقات کرد	کله پوش ازان خوش زیادات کرد
نودد فرودش بایام چند	زیکرنکی یکدل شد و سورمند
پسش کرد دلاله خود سیت را	همه کار و بارش سپرده و را
ازان پس بباشنده انگریزیان	نموده تفحص عالی مکان
پس از جستجوی مکان بزرگ	بلند و فراز و دراز سترک
بسی خوشنما همچو ایوان جم	بباغ فراخش چو جای ارم
کشی دلال بر لب رود بار	بود پر ز آرایش و پر نگار
که ماند درانجا مریضی اگر	بزودی شود درد آن دورتر
کر از مرض گرمی کس عاجز بود	بران هفت ماندنش به شود
کس از درد چشم ارکند بس فغان	شود به و را از هوا خوب آن
برکات آنجای بد همچنان	که تبار و یا کس غریب و کسان
دران مانده سوداگری کار خویش	کند یا دیگر پیشه کار خویش
و را داده از غیب پروردگار	فکمند و هم شده بختیار
چنین جای رنگین و آب و هوا	پراز بس افادات و وصف و ثنا
یکی بود تبار سورت درون	بودش همان جا چو جنت نمون
که نام و را حاجی حجاج بیخ	عیانست و مشهور جای بلیغ

کلمه پوش را آن مکانش بزرگ دهانید او از کرایه سترک
 که در سال مُبلغ آن سه هزار مُعین نمودش کرایه بکار
 کلمه پوش پس حسبند بیرخویش بیاراست آنرا ابا صرف بیش
 که گویا شد آن لایق شاهوار درخشان ز آرایش بیشمار
 پس اقبال روشن نموده دران مر انگریز را ایزد غیبدهان

درباب اینک سیت رستم مانک برای کردن کوتی
 انگریز در شهر سورت با انگریز نزدیک پادشاه دہلی رفت
 و شاه را عرض کرد و فرمان شاهی یافت و انگریز را در شهر
 سورت ماندن جای داد بیان آن

پس از بهر منشور سلطان ہند کہ بودہ شریف از شہ روم و سند
 بہمراہ انگریز رستم ہرفت بزودی رہ آنشاه دہلی گرفت
 دران حین شاهی اورنگ زیب بدہ ہمچو تابان خور بانہیب
 کہ میروانش یکسر بزرین لباس خرد مند و چالاک و مردم شناس
 بشوکت زیکدیگر عالیترا دلاور تر و بانکو کوہرا
 ازان یکسر شان نوشیران بودہ بزم آراستش باسران
 ہم از زر و زیور ہم لشکرش بیبودند صفہ کشیدہ بآن
 ہم فیلسوف کامل و عاقلان زطلّ امیرانش والا کوہر
 بفزدیک آن شاہ پر جاہ و فر باداب و تسلیمہای سزید
 بہمراہ کلاہ پوش رستم رسید باواز عرضش نمودہ بشاہ
 پس از سویی افگریز چون داد خواہ کہ مرد از بہر بہرہ سودا کری
 ولی دخل نہ ہند این را بشہر امیران در گاہ والا بہر

همي مرد انگریز نیکو تراست
 گذارد چنین عرض کز لطف شاه
 که کار تجارت دران آردش
 به پیش همی عرض سیت بزرگ
 بزرگان و میران سلطان را
 ازان چونکه عرض بر شاه کرد
 سفارش بر شاه از طرف آن
 پس آنکه بنزدیک اورنگ شاه
 بگفتش که منشور شاهی یکی
 دبیری پشش خواند و گفتش وزیر
 که در شهر سورت مر انگریز را
 که سازد مکان خودش اندران
 بمال تجارت ذکا تش معاف
 نوشته چو فرمان شاهی چنین
 همان را بدستور خود را سپرد
 چو انگریز فرمان شاهی بیافت
 ز انجامر او راه سورت گرفت
 برای تفوج انواع شهر
 ازان سیر تا داندی راجپور
 دران حاکمی بود باداد و فر
 بسی عزتش داد مر سیت را
 بوقت روانه هم آن طرفدار
 بر امید ظل شهی بر تراست
 دهد جاش در شهر سورت پناه
 هم انبار خانه بران داردش
 ز نظرانه و تحفهای سترک
 نموده بودندش بسادل خوشا
 ببرد داشت شان عرضش و راه کرد
 نمودند و پذیرفت شاه جهان
 وزیر اسد خان بوده پیشگاه
 بنام کله پوش ده بیشکی
 بنویس فرمان شه بر حریر
 دهد دخل و جای مکان و سرا
 نباشد مزاحم و مانع کسان
 نمودست شه ز لطافات صفاف
 بران مهر خود کرد شه بانکین
 زدستش بانگریز چاوش برد
 شده خوشتر و از رضایش بتافت
 وز انسو بجای دیکر سیت رفت
 بخد متکذاران بشادی بهر
 رسیدش بآرام و عیش و سرور
 شیدی یاقو با نام آن نامور
 هم او کرد مهمانگذاری فرا
 بدادش یکی خلعت زرنگار

وز انجا پیش سوی دمن رسید
 دران پادری فونکی سری
 ابا او ملاقات رستم شده
 هراچم بگفتش سخنها ورا
 پیش از نوازش و بس عذر رو
 کرانما به خلعت یکی پر ز زر
 از انسو چو نوساری آمده پیش
 بهمراه انجمن پاک دین
 یکی نام نوشیروان خویش او
 بخانه خودش برد مهمان ورا
 بجای در مهر اورو بسگاه
 شده پاک از شرب نیر نکدین
 بدرگاه آتش و هرام پاک
 بخواندن بآتش نیایش گرفت
 وزان پس بهر دستور و موبدان
 فزون صرف کردند در راه کیش
 بر هر رئیسان کران تحفه
 برستم هم آمد از انجا بسا
 وزان پس ازان سوبه پیمود راه
 هم اهل سورت چه خورد و بزرک
 پذیره شدندش مر از راه دور
 فزونتر برستم ثنا و دعا
 زدل شاد و روی چو گل بشکفید
 بودش نامبردار و نکو تری
 فزون حرمتش داد و خرم شده
 پسندش شده گفته رستما
 هم کار خود را سپرده باو
 بداد و نمودش وداع با و قر
 شدندش پزیره بزرگان بیش
 پیامد مر او بافر و آفرین
 نبودش در انجای پر نهکخو
 ازان پس همان نامور رستما
 برفت و ز دست رو پاک راه
 هم از شست اندام خود یکسرین
 برختش بشوکت زدل نابفاک
 خدای جهان راستایش گرفت
 یلایق اشو داد کردند شان
 سوال غریبان بر آورد بیش
 نمودندش ارسال با و صفها
 زیک یک شدند تازه روی و خوشا
 برقتش بسورت با آرامگاه
 چه خویشان و بیگانگان و سترک
 باو شان بشهر آمدش پر ز نور
 نمودند یکسر ابادل خوشا

وزان پس بدر بار نواب رفت
 با نکریز فرمان شمر داده بود
 چو نواب فرمان شاهی بدید
 پیشش مر حباداد مر سیت را
 چو اندر عدالت دیورش بخواند
 بهوشیاری و زیرک رستم
 پیشش باز بردست انکریز داد
 کله پوش آنرا فرستاده زود
 بآن شاه اینگیس چون آن رسید
 ز دانش رستم ز کیفیتش
 بدانست که هست دلاله ما
 فرودش بسا آب و حرمت و را
 سخنهاي راه درازي گرفت
 همان را بفزديک او برکشود
 بسر بر نهاد و قبولش کزید
 ابر همتش کرد افزون دعا
 فراوان ازان پرکس جهران بماند
 بکردند یکسر دعا و ثنا
 همان شاهی منشور شوکت زیاد
 بر شاه خود در ولایت خود
 ز خواندش شده شادمانش مزید
 شنیده عجب ماندش از همتش
 سپرد از حضور خودش کارها
 کزان شد بهندوستانش بها

درباب اینکه در دریای تحد فرنگیان با کشتی پر مال
 تجار عثمان چلیبی را با فرنگیان جنگ شده بود ازان سبب
 فرنگیان کشتی عثمان چلیبی را گرفته در ملک خود بردند
 آنرا رستم مانک رهانید

بسورت بوده تاجر احترام
 بکار تجارت بودش استوار
 بودش از گلکها شقیته بزرگ
 ز بهنجار دریا باب کران
 که ارمار ترساشدش روبرو
 ز هر دو طرف توپ بکذاشتند
 که تاجر عثمان چلیبیش نام
 همتش نام مشهور در هر دیار
 ز جدا پراز بار نقد سترک
 می آمد رسیدش بلا ناکهان
 بر انکھخت جنگ بیکدیگر او
 دران شعلها آتش افراشتند

بمردند چندی فرنگ اندران
 از آن آخرش شان زگردان غراب
 دران هر که تجار و مردم بودند
 همه مال و نقدی عثمان دران
 بدان یکسر مردمان مال و زر
 بر بندر دمن آورد شان
 از آن پس به عثمان رسیده خبر
 بد از ذات ترکیش بس کینه خواه
 دران حین نواب ملجای عام
 بر او بدرگاه رفتش بزود
 چون نواب او را بدید و بخواند
 ز آهستگی یکسری گفته او
 از آن بعد بمنصب داران خویش
 باو شان سخنهاي کشتیش راند
 ز اندیشه ها کرد نواب یاد
 ز ارشاد اورفت مردم شتاب
 میان بزرگان دران بارگاه
 پیش در حضور همه سیت را
 که از بهر کشتی همه با فرنگ
 چرا بشکند آن فرنگ عهد خویش
 که کشتی عثمان با جبار و رزم
 از آن رستما اندرین کار تست
 که شان می شناسند یکسر ترا

ولی شان ببودند زور آوران
 گرفتند کشتی عثمان در آب
 همه را گرفتند و کردند بند
 بد از چار لک روپیه افزون تران
 بمردند شان کشتیش زود تر
 به بندر نهادند لنگر کران
 شده واقف از بن بنا سربسر
 شده مغمومش چون شنید این براه
 که خان امانت بد او نیکنام
 بکشتی خود داد خواهی نمود
 بنزدیک خود جای داده نشاند
 شنید و در اندیش افتاد ازو
 بخواندند و احضار کشتند بیش
 وزان پس بمشورت شانرا نشاند
 که باید دریجای رستم زیاد
 بیاورد مرسیت را در جناب
 نشاندش بر خودش با عز و جاه
 بگفتا که بشنو تو این ماجرا
 بمعرفت ساخت پیمان سنگ
 چرا لایمانی کند حال بیش
 ببودند ترسا و نسا زند بزم
 که از تو همی کار گردد درست
 کند جان فشانی بمامت بسا

کند استجاب شان سخنهای تو جزت از دکر این نکردد نکو
 ز تصدی کشیده و از تدبیرات غراب چلیبی بیار از نجات
 ز نواب چون این شنیدش سخن قبولش نمود اندران انجمن
 اجازت ز نواب رستم بخواست بکشتش از انسوز اندیشم راست

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک برای رهایی کشتی
 عثمان به بندر دمن رفت

چو آمد بگاشانه آن نیکبخت بزودی برای سفر بست رخت
 بسی تحفه‌ها بهر اهل فرنگ گرفتش بهمراه خود بید رنگ
 بچندین کسانهای خدمتگذار گرفته راه دمن آن نامدار
 در آنوقت همراهش تجارکان بزرگان درگاه آمانت خان
 برفتند شان تا بدرهای شهر گرفتند آغوش یکسر بهمیر
 پس از کرده پدرود آن سیت را بکشتند شان باز هر یکسرا
 چو رستم از آنجا به پیمود راه بیامد بنوساری قصبه کاه
 بآتش و دهرام بفهاد سر مراد خودش خواست زو سر بسر
 نیایش آن با عبادت خدا نمودش ابا موبدان صفا
 هم او شان همی خواست یکسر دعا که بافتح باز آردش ایزدا
 نمودند شانرا فزون شادمان ز داده زر و سیم حرمت کران
 کسی آمده کرده نزدش سوال همان وقت میکرد بر شان نوال
 از آن هر غریبان و خورد و بزرگ شدند شادمان بآفرین سترک
 پشش از دل شاد زانجا برفت بمردم خود راه دمن گرفت
 بردشت آن چون رسیدش دمان خبر شد بسالار کهتان کران
 که رستم بیاید بدمن بکار همان وقت آن سرور نامدار

پذیره فرستاده کردند چند بزرگان آنجا برش از جمند
 بشوکت ورا یکسر مهتران ببردند نزدیک کهتان کران
 پیش سیت داداده عزت نشاند بشیرین زبان گفتگوی براند
 بر او ازان بعد بس تحفها نهادش ابا آفرین و ثفا
 بد آنجا دیگر پادری بزرگ ورا نیز هدیه بدادش سترک
 ازان خاطر آن پادری وکران بکشتند شاداب و بس شادمان

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک با سردار فرنگی دمن
 برای کشتی عثمان چلیبی گفتگوی کرد

بر او پیش عرض کشتی براند زاول باخر هم قصه خواند
 که از بهر فریادی آن غراب بروت آمدم کان بیابم شتاب
 ز بهر زهان کشتیش آمدم نه از سوی او جفکی اش آمدم
 بل از عذر خواهی کنم عرض باز که از داده کشتی کنم سرفراز
 از یوا که با اهل مغلان شما نمودست قول محکم بما
 که کشتی سورت و غیره ز جهد نکیریم هرگز نکشتیم ز عهد
 نباید کسستن چنان بندوبست که از دهن بکشتن چه پیمان شکست

در باب اینکه سیت رستم مانک را سردار فرنگی
 برای کشتی جواب داد

ورا داد سالار ترسا جواب که بودند آن ترکیان در غراب
 نمودند شوخی با هلان ما دوان آمدند شان بمردان ما
 بکشتند مردم ما چند شان بچندین کس هم زخم کردند شان
 پس آنگه کشتی شانرا ز جفک گرفتند مردم ما بیدرنک

نمودند آن هر کسان را به بند
ولی در گودا سرور ماسترک
ازین ماجرایش خبر کرده‌ام
چو ارشادش آید ز گووه ورا
ازان پس بکپتان کران گفت باز
که از مهربانیت باشد چنان
کنون مشورت اندرین باب تو
برستم چنان پاسخش باز داد
بگووه بر ویزریلت برو
بی ارشادش هرگز نیابی مراد
نوشته دهم خوبیت نامه
بزودی شود کار تو بیکمان
پس آغاز ترقیم کردش بزود

در اینجا همان کشتی آورده اند
بود ویزریلش بنام بزرک
ورا یکسر احوال بفوشتم
دهم پس همی مال و کشتی ترا
زبس عذر آن رستم سرفراز
که کارم بود بآبروی کران
چسان میدهد چه جوابت درو
که کر خواهدت کان برآید مراد
که آید بدستت ملک این ازو
هم از رفته فرحت به بینی زیاد
کران تو رسد بادلت کامه
دهد او ترا عز و حرمت کران
نوشته ورا داد و رخصت نمود

در باب اینکه سردار دمن رستم مانک را نامه نوشتند
داد آن نامه کوفته سیت رستم بگووه نزد ویزریل که حاکم
گووه بود رفت و کشتی عثمان را از دست اوشان رها کنید
چو رستم زکپتان کران نامه یافت
ز پیموده راهش بس از قزو آب
بد اینجا سر نام کپتان سران
ز عزت بهر سیدش خیر افیت
ازان پس برش سیت رستم زیاد
کرین سورتم سوي گووه روم

از اینجا بمردم خود در بتافت
پیامد درون و سبب اش شتاب
بمردم پذیره شدش نزد آن
دگر گفت کاینجا چرا آمدت
همه باب کشتی عثمان کشاد
برسله کران از توصل شوم

پسش در گلستان خود سیت را
 ببودند اثمار انواع دران
 بماند اندران سیت با شاد کام
 بشرب و آقل برش اجناس خام
 مدارا بسی کرد از حرمت کران
 زانواع خورده طعام و شراب
 چو بیدار از آرام در بامداد
 پسش خواست رخصت ز کپتان سبران
 درانگاه یکی خلعت زر نگار
 بآن نامہ پر شفازش ہم او
 بس از لطف او را وداعش نمود
 مکان داد کو بود بس خوشنما
 باشجار الوان خوشبو تران
 بآرام بگذاشت روز تمام
 بمولش فرستاده بودند تام
 چو نوروز شادی ازان بود دران
 بشب اندران جاش خوش کرد خواب
 شده ذکر ایزدان نمودش زیاد
 کہ باید کنونم بگووه روان
 بدادش ابا رستم نامدار
 نوشته بدادش ز عز نکو
 پسش رفت زانجا بر گووه زود

در باب اینکه رسیدن رستم مانک بگووه و خبر رسیدن

سردار گووه و وزیریل را از آمدن رستم

چو آن سیت در حد گووه رسید
 کہ دلالہ ما سیت رستم زیاد
 شدش شادمانتر خبر زین شغود
 کہ نزدش پذیرہ ہم کس روند
 برفتند شان پس بر او دمان
 چو رستم بدرکاه ویزریل رسید
 بزریکی بداده بر خویش خواند
 پس اشیاء تحفه بویزریل کہ بود
 بویزریل شد اطلاعش پدید
 ز سورت بیاید برین جای داد
 ابر مہتران کرد ارشاد زود
 ز بس حرمت و عزتش آورند
 ابا حشمتش آوریدند شان
 بخواندش ورا بآبروی سزید
 بجا مرتبہ دادش او را نشاند
 بمردم خود آنکہ آورده بود

برش آن همه سیت نظرانه کرد
 پس اخبار و احوال آن سرفراز
 که چون تصدیت نادرینجا کشید
 بگفتش که ای صاحب سروران
 که تبار عثمان چلیپی بنام
 غرابش ز دریای اهل فرنک
 بسا مال و نقدی بود اندران
 ازان آمدم کان غراب بزرک
 پیشش هر دو آن نامه سروران
 مطالعه نمودش شتاب از کشاد
 برستم بگفت از تسلی بسا
 صبرکن بایزدان توکل بدار
 پیشش داد ایوانه شاهوار
 بنه ما سیت اندر انجا بماند
 بیاراند از سوی سورت هم او
 بدیکر بزرگان د هم سروران
 وزان پس برافراشت کاخ بلند
 ابا دو محله بلند و فراز
 گفانید کار منقش بران
 دران کرد بس زیب آرایش
 هم از مخبل اسباب کاه نشین

به نزهت گرفتن ازان پاک مرد
 بهرسید و از رنج راه دراز
 چه کار افتادت که اینجا رسید
 ضرور آمدن افتادم ازان
 بسورت بود تاجر احترام
 گرفت آوردند مردانه هتک
 که کشتی بزرگست با مردمان
 بیایم ز لطف تو کرم سترک
 بدست ورا داد در آن زمان
 بخندید و شد شاد اندر نهاد
 که مانی درینجا ابا دل خوشا
 که آرد مراد تو پروردگار
 بباشیدن رستم نیک کار
 بعیش و عبادت شهرش براند
 بسا تحفه کونه کون نکو
 نمودند نظرانه یکسر همان
 دران گوه آن رستم ارجمذ
 همان ساختش با دلانها دراز
 شده زان بقا بانس چون کوهران
 ز کار بلورین و آینه
 باندود وزان شد چو یکسر نکین

به پیرامون آن کاخ باغ بزرگ
 بطلبید و یزریل را پس دران
 بزرگی بس افزود دایش ازان
 چو این ماجرایش بشاه فرنگ
 همان پادشاه و بزرگان او
 پس آورد و یزریل برسیت مهر
 ابا یکسر مردم و مال و زر
 بجای وداع خلعت پر ز زر
 بجز آن دیگر خلعت و هدیه
 پس افراشت رختش از انجای زود
 روان کرد کشتی بدریای آب
 بکشتی چورستم به بندر رسید
 بدربار نوابش آمد شتاب
 به رسید احوال کشتی و را
 چو بشنید نواب یکسر بیان
 بدانش و بر همت سیت را
 هم انگه یکی خلعت شاهوار
 برخانه خود آمدش در زمان
 پس این مژده نزد چلیپی رسید
 برستم بیامد همانگه شتاب
 چو جنت بفاکرد سیت سترک
 بخوردن ابا سرور و مهتران
 نمودند بس آفرین یکسران
 شده در پورتکال باوصف و هنگ
 شدند یکسر زان خوش و تازه رو
 بداده همان کشتی اش پر ز بهر
 سپردش کزان سیت شد شادتر
 همش داد او را کرانمایه تو
 بسیت آمدند از دیگر جا بسا
 زویزریل رضا خواستش با درود
 بیاورد در بهر سورت شتاب
 کفانید لنگر بجای سزید
 زدیدش شده شاد و بس داد آب
 بگفتش بر او هم ماجرا
 عجب ماند از کار رستم عیان
 بسی آفرین کردش و مرحد
 برستم بدادش بعز و وقار
 زدیدارش یکسر شدند شادمان
 بدیدش برسیت رفتن سزید
 بخانه خودش برد باجاء و آب

پرسیدش اخبار یکسر و را بیان کرد از اولین آخرا
 ز گفتار رستم شنیده چلیب شده شاد و حیران بماند و عجیب
 بزودی یکی خلعت پر ثنا برستم بدادش ابا تحفا
 ز بس قصد یعاتش هم از تشرفات نمود عجزش با دعا و صفات
 با کرام موفور آن سیت را وداع کرد و رفتش پراز دل خوشا
 چنان از امورات رستم زیاد به نیکی و خوبی و بخشش و داد
 بهر سرور و حاکم و تاجران شدش شوکت و آب و حرمت کران
 شد اینجا ز امداد رب افتها مراین قصه رستم مانکا
 از برا بپرداخت این نظم را که تاجاودان خوبی رستما
 برادی و نامی و همت بلند غریب پروری و اساس ارجمند
 بدانند هر مردم خاص و عام کنند یاد نیکی رستم مدام
 تمام شد این قصه سیت رستم مانک باشنده بشهر
 سورت بروز مبارک رشن راست بهماه خرداد سنه یک
 هزار و دوصد و پنجاه و دو یزد کردی این قصه را در سال
 یک هزار و هشتاد یزد کردی موبد جمشید کیقباد که باشنده
 سورت بود تصنیف کرده بود و کاتب و مالک این قصه
 ایرچ دستور سهراب جی بن دستور کاوس جی مهر جی
 رانا ساکن قصبه نوساری و از قصه که این نقل کردم آن
 اصل قصه در کجراتی با معنی نوشته نزد سیت کیخسرو
 رستم جی بود ازان روی در فارسی نقل کردم -

DOCUMENT No. 1.¹

OUR PRESIDENT AND
COUNCILL OF BOMBAY.

LONDON, *the 19th Aug^r. 1724.*

Wee the Court of Directors of the United Company Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies send this to acquaint you That by the King George lately arrived, and the Stanhope which came in Sometime before Wee have received yo^r. severall packets and Advices giving us an Account of our Affairs under your Management with the reasons of your proceedings. We observe in Yo^r Letters by y^e King George, That the Governour of Suratt and the Merchants think it very reasonable, that the late Brokers should give us satisfaction as to all just Demands upon them, which as you have wrote us is what you desire, and would be content with the proof of even from their own Books and Accounts, and to submit any Matters of difference that may arise To the Determination of the Merchants of Suratt to be mutually chosen by the said Brokers and you, for them to conclude and settle the same.

We find in the Letter by the King George That Fframjee is in Custody at the Suratt Durbar, and Bomanjee remains confined to his house at Bombay, former Letters gave us yo^r. reasons, why you did not then think it proper to let him go off the Island.

The Salisbury Man of War which arrived at Spithead the later end of Aprill last brought Nowrajee from Suratt, he is since come up hither, and hath laid before us severall papers and accounts which are Order'd to be perused and taken into Consideration.

Among other papers he gave us one Entituled the Case of Framjee in close prison at Suratt, wherein he represents, That this was occasion'd by the English Chiefs Mr. Hope & afterwards Mess^{rs}. Cowans & Courtneys application to Momeen Caun the

¹ In reading some words which are not legible, I am helped by the copies printed by Jalbhoy about 40 years ago. Some missing letters where they are not legible are put in brackets by me. As to the year at the top, it is 1724. After the printing off of the above papers, I have seen some extracts which Mr. Kavasji Seth has sent for from the old records in England and I find that the year in the Extracts also is 1724 and so the matter requires a consideration other than the one given by me above in the (Section II a) of Documents. I give at the end a fac-simile photo of this first document.

Suratt Govr. and by a Letter delivered to him wrote by Governor Phipps on which Framjee was at first confined, then Guards set on his Father Rustumjee's house, after this Framjee was forced to pay Momeen Caun at times Fifty Thousand rupees, and also Two hundred rupees a day for leave to supply the people in the house with provisions and Water, and besides all these hardships he has undergone Corporall punishments.

We are apt to think this Case is greatly aggravated or at least that the Governor proceeded to rigorous treatment to Oblige Framjee to come to a fair Account according to the Custome of the Countrey, which was at first civilly desired to be done without any Compulsion, and ought to have been Comply'd with.

But however the Case be, We have at Nowrajee's request consented and agreed, and do hereby direct and Order That you do give leave to Bomanjee, if he do yet remain at Bombay to go to Surat whenever he pleases without delay, and That you do Your Endeavour by proper application to the Governor of Surat to get Framjee released from Confinement, and the Guards taken off from his late Father's house. Our desires being to end all differences amicably for We would not have him oppress.

We have at Nowrajee's desire given him Six Letters, all of the same Tenor with this, That as he intends to send them overland, if any should Miscarry, the rest may come Safe and Earlier than by the Shipping directly from hence, for they will not sail till the proper Season by which you may Expect an answer to your Letters now before us, We are

Your Loving Friends

E. HARRISON.

ABRA ADDAMS.

JOHN DRUMMOND.

WILLM. AISLABIE.

WM. BILLERS.

WM. GOSSEHN.

RICH^d. BOULTON.

ROB^t. HUDSON.

CHAN CHILD.

JOS. WORDSWORTH.

JOHN. GOULD. ¹

JOHN ECCLESTON.

EDW^d. OWEN.

JOHN BANCE.

BALTZAR LYETE.

JOS. WORDSWORTH (JUN^r).

MATHEW DECKER.

¹ There are at the end some three letters, which Jalbhoy reads (Jun).

DOCUMENT No. 2.

TO ALL PEOPLE to whom these Presents shall Come Wee Sir Mathew Decker of London Barronet Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote of London Esquires send Greetings WHEREAS in and by One Indenture bearing date on or about the Eighteenth day of November last and made or mentioned to be made Between The United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies of the one part and Nowrojee Rustumjee of Surat in the East Indies (but then and now residing in London) Merchant of the other Part Reciting that severall Accounts Claims and Demands had been depending and several Disputes and Controversies had arisen between the said United Company and the said Nowrojee Rustumjee as well on the behalf of himself as Framjee and Bomanjee his Brothers in themselves or one of their own Proper right as in the right of Rustumjee Manackjee Father of the said Nowrojee, Framjee and Bomanjee to whom they are Representatives AND RECITING that the said partys having a Desire that an amicable End might be made of all Matters in difference between them had indifferently Elected and Chosen us to be Arbitrators of in and Concerning the premises and had agreed that wee the said Arbitrators should and might finally Determine all Differences Controversies Disputes Claims and Demands between the said Partys or either of them upon any account whatsoever IT WAS WITNESSED by the same Indenture that it was thereupon Covenanted and agreed by and between the said Partys thereto and the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Did for themselves and their Successors Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brother at Surat that they the said United Company their Successors and Assigns should and would for and on their parts well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fullfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the premisses so as the same was made and put in writing under our hands and Seales respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India House in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of the Instant January AND the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Did for himself and in the behalf of his Brothers their

and each of their Executors and Administrators Covenant Promise and Grant to and with the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies their Successors and Assigns that he the said Nowrojee Rustumjee for himself and in behalf of his Brotherstheir and each of their Heirs Executors and Administrators should and would well and truly stand to abide Observe Perform fullfill and keep such Award final End and Determination as wee should make of in and Concerning the Premises so as the same was made and Put in writing under our hands and Seals respectively and ready to be delivered to the said Partys at the East India house in Leaden hall Street London on or before the Eighteenth day of this Instant January AND it was thereby Declared and agreed by and between the Partys thereto that the said submission and the award to be made by the said Arbitrators in Performance thereof Should be made a Rule of his Majestys Court of Kings Bench at Westminster according to a late Act of Parliament for determining Differences by Arbitrators as in and by the said Recited Indenture duly Executed by the Partys thereto reference being thereunto had may more at la (...) appear¹ Now Know Ye that wee the said Sir Mathew Decker Josias Wordsworth Edward Harrison and John Heathcote having taken upon us the burthen of the said Award and fully heard and Examined the several Allegations and Proofs of the said Party and duly and Maturely weighed and considered the same and the Matters in difference between them Do Declare that it Appears unto us that there was due at or upon the Eighteenth day of November last from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee and to the said Framjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Called Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee Sons of the abovenamed Rustumjee Manackjee Ninety One thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenty nine Pies and a half upon or by Virtue of One Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the Seal of the said Company bearing date on or about the Fifteenth day of May One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen and that there was likewise at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee

¹ The words in this line are not legible now, but Mr. Jalbhoy Seth who read them in 1900 gives them as "at large appear".

Rustumjee Fifty one thousand Eight hundred and Forty Rupees upon or by Virtue of one other Bond Deed or Interest Bill under the seal of the said Company bearing date on or above the fourth day of October One thousand Seven hundred and Sixteen AND it further appears unto us the said Arbitrators that there was at the same time due from the said United Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee upon severall Accounts depending between them and the said United Company so much as in the whole with the Money due on the abovementioned Bonds Deeds or Interest Bills as aforesaid make together Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees which said Five hundred Forty Six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees wee Declare to be the full of all that Can to the time aforesaid be Claimed or demanded of or from the said United Company by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee either in their own right or in the right of either of them or as they or either of them are Representatives or Claim under their abovenamed Father or otherwise howsoever and accordingly wee do award the said Five hundred Forty six thousand three hundred and Ninety Rupees to be accepted by the said Nowrojee Rustumjee Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee in full satisfaction of all Demands between them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November and wee award the same to be paid in the Manner and form and at the Place hereafter mentioned (that is to say) Wee award that the sume of Nineteen thousand One hundred and twenty five Pounds Sterling money being the amount of Value in England of One hundred and Seventy thousand Rupees be well and truly Paid or Caused to be paid by the said U(nited) Company to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee on or before the first day of February now next Ensueing and that upon such Payment the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do deliver up to the said United Company to be Cancelled the B(ond her)ein before Mentioned to be dated on or about the Eighteenth day of May One thousand seven hundred an(d.....een)¹ whereon as above mentioned is due Ninety one thousand three hundred and sixty seven Rupees and Twenety Nine pies and a half and the said other Bond herein-

¹ Jalbhoy gives "Sixteen".

before mentioned to be dated the fourth day of O(cto)ber (?) One thousand seven hundred and sixteen whereon as above mentioned²and Eight hundred

.....do further award that the said United Company do on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year (of Ou)r Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty five Engli(sh) stile well and truly Pay or Cause to be paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay in the East Indies the further su(m of) One hundred Eighty Eight thousand one hund(red an)d Ninety five Rupees upon Payment whereof wee do Award and Direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall him(self sig)n and also Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and (Boma)njee Rustumjee to sign a Receipt of acquitta(nce) of and for the said One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees AND wee do further De(clare an)d award the said United Company well and truly to Pay or cause to be Paid to the said Nowrojee Rustumjee at Bombay aforesaid on or before the first day of February which will be in the Year of our Lord One thousand seven hundred and Twenty six English Stile the further Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees being the residue of and in full Payment and satisfaction for the Sume of Five hundred and forty six thousand three hundred and ninety Rupees so due and Owing from the said United Company in the whole as abovementioned upon Payment of which said last Mentioned Sume of One hundred Eighty Eight thousand One hundred and Ninety five Rupees wee do award that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee shall Sign Seal and Deliver and likewise Procure the said Framjee Rustumjee and Bomanjee Rustumjee to Sign Seal deliver to or to the use of the said United Company and their Successors a General Release of and from all Claims Accounts and Demands whatsoever between them and each of them and the said United Company to the said Eighteenth day of November last past And wee Do Award and direct that the said Nowrojee Rustumjee do and shall also Sign Seal and Execute unto and to the use of the said United Company a Bond of Sufficient Panalty

² Jalbhoy gives, as read in 1900, "is due fifty one thousand eight hundred and forty Rupees and we."

Conditioned for the saveing harmless and indemnified the said United Company and their Successors of from and against all Claims and Demands that shall or may be made upon the said United Company or their Successors for or in respect of the said Sumes of Money so paid in Pursuance of this Award and from and against all Actions Suits and Damages that Shall or may happen to or be at any time or times Commenced or Prosecuted against the said United Company or their Successors for or by reason or in respect of their having made such Payments as aforesaid or any of them or otherwise howsoever in relation thereto IN WITNESS WHEREOF wee the said Arbitrators have to this our Award Sett our hands and Seals this Eighteenth Day of January in the Eleventh year of the Reign of Our Sovereign Lord George King of Great Britain France and Ireland defender of the Ffaith E¹oquez (?) Domini 1724.

Sealed and Delivered.

MATHEW DECKER, (I.S.)

(being first Duely stampd)

JOS. WORDSWORTH, (I.S.)

in the presence of

E. HARRISON, (I.S.)

STR. HERVEY (?)

JOHN HEATHCOTE, (I.S.)

GEORGE LLOYD (?)

(The Document bears a Seal on the left hand margin. The words Honi and Mal are distinctly read ; the other portions are torn off. So, the Seal seems to bear the inscription " HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE.")

¹ Jalbhoy gives these words as " or Anno ".

² For the reading of these two letters which seem to be I.S. and are put within a circle, *vide* above (Section IIA Documents).

DOCUMENT No. 3.^s

1. TO ALL to whom these Presents shall come. We Sr
Edward Mathus
2. Knight Lord Mayor and the Aldermen of the City of
London Send Greeting
3. KNOW YE that on the day of the of the King
Majesty of Court (?)
4. holden before us in the Chambers of the hall ? of the
said City personally (?)
5. and appeared
6. wellknown and worthy of good credit (?)
and by solumn oath wh
7. upon the Holy Evangelists of Almighty God there and
there C
8. solemnly declare and depose (?)
that was
9. Sr Mathew Decker of London Baronet Josias Wordsworth
E(dward Harrison)
10. and John Heathcote of London Esquires Severally sign
seal and (de)liv(er)
11. and Deeds Deliver our originall instrument of
12. the Eighteenth day of January last and purporting to
be
13. the East India Company in England, and
Nowrojee (?)
14. of Surat and that he the said
15. and Delivery thereof did his
16. Bond and the said Nowrojee (?) did further declare . . .
17. that the said writing (?)
18.
19. or that he the said
20. the said Originall Instrument and the same Exactly to
21. the same in Every respect.

In Ffaith and testimony of

. . . . Lord Mayor

. Seal of

. put and appeared

on fourth day of February

of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord

. King of Great Britain

Dated 1724.

(Here there is an illegible signature)

^s This document is referred to by Jalbhoy.

DOCUMENT No. 4.

MESSRS. FRAMJEE RUSTUMJEE AND BOMANJEE RUSTUMJEE.

I have received yo^r Several Letters, and have returned answer to some of them by Captⁿ. Hide and last by Mr. Thomas Waters ; And I think you did wrong to send Newrojee to England without a Letter of Attorney from und^r yo^r hands after the English maner, neither did you send by him the original Bonds, which was the most material things wanting—I have to the utmost of my power helped and assisted Newrojee in yo^r. affair, and have been of greater service than any body cou^d have been here, as I beleive Newrojee will do me the justice to signify to you—whatever Newrojee hath done in this concern hath been by my advice, he always consulted with me, and I have told him what was necessary and proper to be done—And as I have said to Newrojee that if he or you tell any body what methods have been taken in England relating to this business it will greatly prejudice the affairs.

Newrojee & Capt^t. Braithwait of the Salisbury Man of War have had some dispute (the particulars Newrojee will acquaint you with) which dispute I have made an end of here, and they have given a General release to each other.

Yo^r. Brother Newrojee hath paid the money due to me for consulage and Interest, and I have given him a receipt for the same—I have likewise agreed with Newrojee that in case my Attorney in India should have received this money from either of you, Mr. Thomas Waters sha^{ll} pay back the money to you, with Interest according to the Custome of India and I have write to Mr. Waters & ordered him so to do—I have advised Mr. Newrojee, and so have several Gentn.¹ here, that you three Brothers shou^d live amicably and peaceably in all yo^r. affairs, because in a very short time Its to be hoped the hon^{ble}. Company will employ you all jointly as their Broker, as is promised by my own, and Newrojees good Friends here, but if any dispute happens among you then you will ruin yo^r. business—Since Newrojees comeing to England he hath been very ill, but he hath taken great pains in this business, and every body here hath great value and esteem for him, because he hath managed this affair to the satisfaction

¹ Gentlemen.

of the hon^{ble} Company, and for the Good and Interest of his Brothers and Family ; therefore you ought to make him a handsome present for his long and fatiging voyage & Good Services.

In yor^r, account dated Septr. 10th 1722 You have deducted Thirteen hundred Twenty Two Rupees 59 pice¹ for Commission on Twenty Six Thousand Four hundred Fifty Eight Rupees 33 pice at 5 p. Cent to Mr. Hope as Vice Consul, this I can't allow, therefore I hope you will recover it with Interest. For I promised Mr. Hope only on what he shou'd collect himself, by which means I understood he was Security, whereas had not yor^r. affairs taken a favourable turn, my consulage must have been lost, by Mr. Hopes neglecting my orders—I have ordered my Attorney to receive back from Mr. Hope whatever he has so fallaciously charged in former Accounts, and I hope for yor^r. assistance as I shall readily serve you in England.

I understand Mr. Hope has not Credited me for the Williams consulage and some other Ships on pretence that they belonged to Companys Servants, the Company gave me the whole perquisite without any exception, and the excuseing the Servants of Bombay or Surat was a voluntary Act and designed only as an encouragement to Young Beginners, for I ever insisted to have it paid in Stocks, otherwise the name of a Companys Servant might cover many Cargo's as Mr. Hope has done, this I hope you will enquire into and clear up for me.

I come now to recomend to you Mr. Thomas Waters, whom, I have made my Atto(rney) if he applies to you for yor^r. assistance in mine or his own affairs, I flatter myself you will give him what you are able — I recomend you to the divine providence, and am

Yor^r. very Loveing.

Mr. WATERS, Mr. INNES, Mr. }
LAMBTON, MR. LOUTHER are all my }
Friends, whom I desire you will }
assist as occasion serves.

CHAR BOONET.

LONDON *March* 25 1725.

Yesterday your brother concluded his affair with Commadore

¹ In this document the word pice is written in small types above the figure.

Mathews, which considering the nature of your bil of Exchange is very wel made and end of and I do not think of least service I have done your family, I hope you wil exert your selves in like manner for me.

CHAR BOONET.

President and
Council of Bombay

— London the 19th Aug 1724

Wth the Council of Directors of our United Company
of Merchants of England's Trading in India &c. read
and this is a quantity sent by the ship George lately re-
arrived from Surat the which came in sometime before they
have received your several packets and desires you to give an
account of our Affairs and your Management with the
reasons of your proceedings. We observe in your Letter by the ship
George that the Governors of Surat and the Merchants
think it very reasonable at the late Brothers should give
us satisfaction in our just demands upon them, which as
you have promised that you desire and would be content
with the proof of clearing their own Books & Accounts: &
to submit any Matters of difference that may arise to the
determination of the Merchants of Surat to be mutually
chosen by the said Brothers & you, for them to conclude with
the same.

We find in the Letter by the ship George that Francis
William lately at the Surat Factor and Company remains
convinced to his house at Bombay former Letters gave us your
reasons why you did not then think it proper to let him go
off the Island.

The Sglawary than of that which arrived at Spithead
the later end of April last brought 2 Voyagers from Surat he is
since come up hither, and hath laid before us severall papers and
accounts which are ordered to be perused and taken into considera-
tion.

Among other papers he gave us one Entitled the Case of
Francis m Cloe prisoner at Surat, wherein he represents that his
misadventure was occasioned by the English Chief M^r Hope & afterwards M^r
Conans & Courtneys application to M^r Korneen Caun the Surat
Governor and by a Letter delivered to him wrote by Governor Higgins
in which Francis was at first confined, then Guards set on him
M^r Korneen Caun at times Fifty Thousand Rupes and also Two
hundred Rupes a day leave to supply the people in the town
with provisions & Water, and besides all these hardships he has undergone
corporally punishments.

We are apt to think this case is greatly aggravated
 or at least that the Governor proceeded to ~~the point~~ ^{the point} ~~to oblige~~ ^{to oblige} ~~Francee~~ ^{Francee} to come to a fair account according to the
 Customs of the Country, which was at first ~~intended~~ ^{intended} to be
 done without any Compulsion, and ought to have been complied
 with.

But however the case be, we have at Novorajee request
 consented & agreed, and do hereby direct ~~to order~~ ^{to order} That you do give
 leave to ~~Francee~~ ^{Francee}, if he do yet remain at Bombay to go to Surat
 whenever he pleases without delay, & That you do go Endeavour
 by proper Application to the Governour of Surat to get ~~Francee~~ ^{Francee}
 released from Confinement, and the Guards taken off from his
 late Father's house & our desires being to end all differences amicably
 for we would not have him Opprest.

We have at Novorajee desire given him six Letters, all
 of the same tenor with this, That as he intends to send them
 overland, if any should miscarry, the rest may come safe and
 Earlier than by the shipping directly from hence, for they will
 not sail till the proper season to which you may expect an
 answer to your Letters now before us, We are,

Your Loving Friends

John Eccleston Blessington
 { Edw. Owen Abner Williams
 { John Baum John Drummond
 { Peter J. J. William A. A.
 { W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
 { M. M. M. M. M. M. M. M.
 { W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
 { R. R. R. R. R. R. R. R.
 { T. T. T. T. T. T. T. T.
 { W. W. W. W. W. W. W. W.
 { M. M. M. M. M. M. M. M.

THE MECHANISM OF LIFE.

By J. C. BOSE.

Previous observers have been misled by the apparent differences between the reactions of animal and plant life. The animal responds to a shock by a twitching movement, while ordinary plants are supposed to be insensitive to a succession of blows. Animals possess sense organs which pick up messages from without, the tremor of excitation being conducted by means of the nervous tissue to the distant motile organ which it causes to move; the plant is supposed not to possess any such conducting tissue. A throbbing organ beats continuously in the animal, for circulation of the nutrient fluid; no similar organ has been suspected in the plant. Two streams of life are thus imagined to flow side by side with little in common between them. This view is wholly incorrect and it is the paralysing influence of wrong speculations that arrested the advance of knowledge.

My experiments prove on the contrary that the mechanism of life of the plant is essentially similar to that of the animal. The demonstration of this would undoubtedly constitute a scientific generalisation of very great importance. For it would then follow that the complex mechanism of the animal machine that has so long baffled us, need not remain inscrutable for all time, since the intricate problems of animal life would naturally find their solution in the study of corresponding problems in the simpler vegetable life. This would mean the possibility of very great advance in the sciences of General Physiology, of Agriculture, of Medicine and even of Psychology.

THE REALM OF THE INVISIBLE.

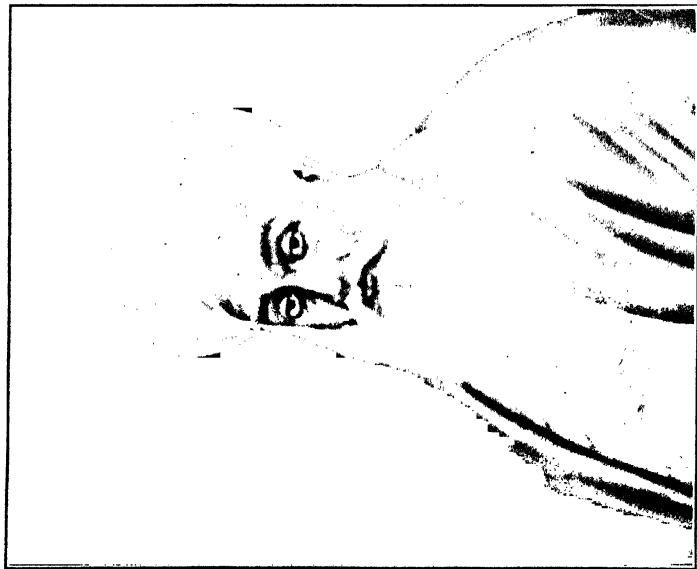
The real difficulty that thwarts the investigator at every step arises from the fact that the interplay of life-action is taking place within the dark profundities of the tree, which our eyes cannot penetrate. In order to reveal the intricate mechanism of its life, it is necessary to gain access to the smallest unit of life,

the 'life atom' and record its throbbing pulsation. When microscopic vision fails we have still to explore the realm of the invisible.

The experimental difficulties have been successfully removed by the invention and construction, in my Institute, of instruments of extreme delicacy and sensitiveness. I will describe a few which rendered signal service in revealing the hidden activities of life. The *High Magnification Crescograph* instantly records the imperceptible growth, and the variations induced in it under chemical or electrical stimulation. The *Magnetic Crescograph* records movements beyond the highest powers of the microscope, the magnification produced being 50 million times. The *Resonant Recorder* inscribes time as short as a thousandth part of a second, and enables the most accurate determination of the *latent* or perception period of the plant, and the velocity of transmission of excitation. The *Conductivity Balance* enables the determination of the effect of various drugs in enhancement or depression of the nervous impulse. The *Electric Phytograph* is the only device for record of the rate of the ascent of sap and the variation induced in it. The *Transpirograph* has enabled determination of the quantity of water transpired by a single stoma of the leaf. The *Optical Sphygmograph* records the pulse-beat of the plant and its modification under various drugs. The *Photosynthetic Recorder* automatically inscribes, on a moving drum, the rate of carbon-assimilation by plants. It is so extremely sensitive that it detects the formation of carbohydrate as minute as a millionth part of a gram. The *Magnetic Radiometer* enables accurate measurement of energy of every ray in the solar spectrum. In conjunction with a special Calorimeter, it has enabled the most accurate determination of the efficiency of the chlorophyll-apparatus of green plants in storage of solar energy.

FORM AND FUNCTION.

Every organ of a living being is an instrument, subserving a particular function for the advantage of the organism. In physiology or the study of the phenomena of life, we are primarily concerned with investigations on the function of the organ and not of its form. This will be clearly understood from the comparative study of different types of digestive organs, the primary function of which is to dissolve insoluble organic food by secretions



Rustom Maneck.



Naoroji Rustom Maneck.

(From the Collection of the late Mr. Jamsheji Sethna.)

from glands, and the subsequent absorption of the dissolved product. In *Drosera rotundifolia* the leaves are covered with tentacles which discharge a viscid acid secretion. Insects are caught by the secretion and during their struggle the neighbouring tentacles bend over and hold the victims more securely. The insects then become dissolved and digested, the insoluble skeleton being left behind. Nothing could be so strikingly different as this simple type of an open digestive organ from that of the more complex infolded stomach of the animal. Yet functionally one is as much a digestive organ as the other. In the case of Venus Fly-trap or *Dionæa*, a trap is formed by the two halves of the open leaf, which acts like a gaping mouth closing upon its prey the captured insect. In the bag-like pitcher of *Nepenthes*, the digestive organ of the plant approximates more closely to the stomach of an animal.

The plant world affords a unique opportunity for studying the changes by which a simple primitive organ becomes gradually transformed into one of greater complexity.

The evolutionary process has been active not only in morphological differentiation, that is, in the development of new forms, but also in the physiological differentiation, that is, in the development of specialised mechanisms for performance of various vital functions. There still exists a long prevalent idea that physiological mechanisms of animals and plants are fundamentally different, because they have been developed along separate lines. The evidence I will adduce will suffice to show that this idea is totally unfounded.

ANIMAL AND PLANT MECHANISM.

The most important characteristics of certain animal tissues are (1) *contractility*, on account of which response by movement takes place under external stimulus; (2) *conductivity* or power of transmitting excitation to a distance; and (3) *rhythmicity* or so called spontaneous movements. Investigations were undertaken to see whether these characteristics are also to be discovered in the plant.

Contractile Response of all Plants.—‘The Infinitesimal Contraction Recorder,’ producing a magnification of several million times, is absolutely free from physical disturbance, since the indicating

line of light remains unaffected even by stamping on the floor. For comparison of excitability of the plant with that of a human being, a sub-minimal electric shock is administered to a human being with the plant placed in the same circuit. While man fails to react to the excessively feeble stimulus it causes a shuddering twitch in the plant. This proves that the excitability of certain plants are even higher than that of a human being.

The nervous impulse both in animal and plant can be demonstrated by the directive action of an electric current in excitation. On sending the current from the left to the right sciatic nerve of a frog, a nervous impulse is started at the point where the electric current leaves the nerve, that is to say at the kathode, causing the right leg to kick out. By reversing the current the left leg can be made to give the kick. The frog can thus be made to dance, keeping step with the alternate nervous excitations. Precisely similar movements, under nervous excitation, are exhibited by the two leaf-stalks or limbs of the Mimosa plant.

The Propulsion of Sap.—The movement of sap in the stem and leaves has been regarded as merely a passive physical process, water being sucked up in consequence of evaporation from the leaves. The erroneous character of the supposition can be demonstrated by the following striking experiment. A wilted and almost dying leaf of *Lupin* is coated with impermeable varnish, so as to abolish evaporation. In spite of this, application of a stimulating solution at the cut end of the organ brings about the revival of the dying leaf which rears itself erect with extraordinary vigour. The activity of living cells in the pumping up of sap is further proved by the failure of the stimulating solution to revive a leaf which had previously been poisoned.

Automatism.—One of the most puzzling phenomena connected with life, is the so-called spontaneous or automatic movements, apparently maintained without any ascertainable cause. Every movement, ordinarily speaking, is due to an antecedent stimulus; but a spontaneously pulsating heart is said to beat of its own accord and therefore regarded as an automatic organ. What is the solution of this automatism?

Although such automatic movements are usually associated with animal life, yet similar activities are found in the Telegraph-plant, or *Desmodium gyrans*. I have been able to establish the essential similarity between the automatic pulsation of the Telegraph-plant and that of the animal heart, similar effects being induced under variation of temperature, and under different chemical agents, carbonic acid, ether, chloroform and others.

These experiments conclusively demonstrate the fundamental identity of the pulsatory mechanism in the animal and the plant. But the question still remains ; what is the cause of these automatic movements ?

Discovery of Connecting Link.—Two classes of phenomena, are thus observed (1) in which a single stimulus produces a single response, and (2) in which movement takes place apparently without any cause. Is there a hiatus between the two, or is there a connecting link, the discovery of which might lead to an explanation of these mysterious automatic movements ? Such a connecting link I have discovered in *Biophytum sensitivum*, a weed which grows in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. Its sensitive leaflets show excitation by a twitching movement. In experimenting with this plant it was observed that while a single moderate stimulus gives rise to a single response, a stronger stimulus gives rise to a *series of multiple responses*, the persistence of which depends on the strength and duration of previous stimulation. A portion of the incident stimulus thus becomes stored and held latent for subsequent expression. The response thus echoes, as it were, or reverberates.

Carbon Assimilation.—The incessant activities of life require expenditure of energy previously stored by the organism. Taking for example the rise of sap, the ceaseless activity of the pulsating tissue raises enormous quantities of water to a considerable height. The energy of doing this work resides in the breakdown of organic chemical substances in internal combustion or respiration. The loss of energy must be restored by absorption and storage of energy from outside.

The Photosynthetic Recorder.—The activity of assimilation may be measured either from volume of carbon-dioxide absorbed

or an equal volume of oxygen evolved. The first method is very complicated while the second is simple and direct. My Photosynthetic Recorder automatically records the rate of assimilation on a revolving drum ; it also gives audible signals. The automatic method is extremely sensitive and eliminates personal errors of observation.

Storage of Solar Energy.—The economic life of the present age may be said to depend to a great extent on the utilisation of the solar energy that has been stored in the past ages by vegetable life. What is the efficiency of the plant-mechanism for this storage ? It has hitherto been regarded as extremely low, less than 1 per cent. The methods employed in this determination have hitherto been more or less defective. I, therefore, undertook a careful redetermination by the employment of new and highly sensitive methods. The efficiency was found to be much higher than had generally been supposed, being as high as 7·4 per cent. The efficiency of the photosynthetic organ may be taken as about half that of an ordinary steam-engine. After all, it may not be such an impractical proposition to devise a chlorophyll apparatus for trapping sunlight.

Similar Action of Drugs on Pulse-beat of Plant and Animal.—Under the action of poison, the pulse-beat of the plant flutters as of a creature desperately struggling for life. In some cases it is possible to save the plant by timely application of a suitable antidote. Accurate investigations on the characteristic effects of different drugs on animal heart has been rendered possible by the invention of the *Resonant Cardiograph*. Of special interest is a record obtained according to my method, by the leading experts of the Faculty of Medicine in Vienna. The heart-beat of a frog had just come to a stop, the animal being to all intents and purposes dead. The injection of a few drops of an Indian drug of high potency then revived the heart and the animal was brought back to life. A large number of Indian plants are being discovered, whose medicinal properties have never been suspected and whose efficiency in reviving the failing heart appears to be exceptionally high. Further progress necessitates (1) a survey of Indian plants for discovery of their medicinal properties ; (2) the establishment

of a Physic Garden ; (3) careful isolation of the active principles from the plant extracts ; and (4) careful and prolonged investigation for standardisation of the dose on human subjects. The results would undoubtedly lead to the establishment of a new pharmacopœia for the relief of humanity.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE.

In regard to movement of growth, the fundamental principle established by my recent researches is that growth is retarded by strong and accelerated by weak stimulation of whatever kind. Closely connected with it is the further principle that direct stimulation retards and indirect stimulation accelerates the rate of growth ; this is the essential feature of the mechanism of tropisms. There is no longer any ground for assuming distinct irritabilities, such as phototropic, geotropic, or negative and positive phototropism ; these terms may remain as merely descriptive of visible response. There is but one irritability of the growing organ which responds to all stimuli that may act upon it, and in essentially the same manner.

The following works recently published by Messrs. Longmans, Green & Co. may be consulted for detailed information :—

Bose—*Motor Mechanism of Plants*. (1928).

„ —*Growth and Tropic Movements of Plants*. (1929).

KUMĀRILA AND VEDĀNTA.

BY GANGANATHA JHA.

Śaṅkaradigvijaya tells us that when on his 'world-conquering expedition' Śaṅkarācārya met Kumārila at Prayāga, they were unable to discuss things because by that time half of Kumārila's body had been reduced to ashes. This event, not very important in itself, assumes a degree of importance when we come to study the tenets of Kumārila in the matter of *Ātman*. Between Kumārila's views and the views of the 'Vedānta' of Śaṅkara, the points of contact are so many, and those of difference are comparatively so few, that one feels justified in feeling that if the two masters had been able to meet and talk things over, they would have decided to merge their systems into one and the cause of Indian Thought would, on account of that merging, run on different lines since then.

This paper makes it its business to emphasise the points of contact and (for the present) to ignore the points of difference; and for the sake of brevity it will confine itself to the subject of *Ātman*, as already indicated above.

- (i) First of all then—the immediate purpose of both was to save the *Vaidika-Dharma* from the onslaughts of the *Bauddha* and other non-Vaidika systems.
- (ii) Kumārila holds that the *Ātman* is *eternal*—different from the body, the sense-organs and *Buddhi*—(Śloka-vārtika—*Ātma*. 7). It is imperishable. (*Ibid*. 147).
- (iii) *Ātman* is *omnipresent*—(Tantra-vārtika—Translation, p. 516).
- (iv) *Ātman* is 'jñānaśaktisvabhāva,' eternal, omnipresent. (Śloka-vārtika—*Ātma*. 73).
- (v) *Ātman* is 'of the nature of pure consciousness' (Tantra-vārtika—Translation, p. 516).
- (vi) As regards the *parama-puruṣārtha*, summum bonum, and its attainment, Kumārila's view is thus summed

up—(See *Tantravārtika*—Text, pp. 240-241, Translation, p. 321):—

- (a) Knowledge of Ātman helps the Man as also the sacrificial performance.
- (b) Such Vedic texts as—‘Ya ātmā apahatapāpmā vijaro vimṛtyuḥ viśoko vijighatso’pipāsaḥ satyakāmaḥ satyasaṅkalpaḥ so’nvēṣṭavyaḥ sa vijijñāsitaḥ,’—‘mantavyo buddhavyaḥ’—‘Ātmānamupāsita,’ ‘Sa sarvāṁśca lokān jayati tarati śokamātmavit’—‘Sa yadi pitṛlokakāmo bhavati saṅkalpādevāsyā pitarāḥ samuttisṭhanti tena pitṛlokena sampanno mahīyate’—‘Sa khalvevam yāvadāyusaṁ brahmalokamabhisampadyate na sa punarāvartate’—show that there are two kinds of ‘ends’ attainable by man, *Happiness* and *Final Deliverance* (the Highest good),—by means of pure self-knowledge obtained by means of Enquiry and Reflection; the ‘Highest Good’ consists in the ‘absorption into the regions of Brahman.’

Though what is said in Śloka-vārtika (Sambandhākṣepaparihāra, 103-104) as to ‘the knowing of self’ not being enjoined ‘for the purpose of Final Deliverance’ would appear to be inconsistent with the above from *Tantravārtika*,—yet in reality it is not so. The explanation is given by the Nyāyaratnākara, which says that there are two kinds of ‘self-knowledge’ taught in the Upaniṣads—(1) one which discriminates the Ātman from the Body, etc., and (2) which helps in Meditation, etc.,—It is the former that is spoken of as not leading to ‘Final Deliverance’; as its sole purpose lies in convincing the man that there is an ever-lasting Entity within him for whose sake the sacrifices are to be performed. That this is so is made clear by the statement that ‘there is no other result save the attainment of Heaven.’ This apparently refers to the result of sacrifices. Certainly Kumārila cannot be taken as holding that there is no other result save Heaven; in several passages he has spoken of *Mokṣa*. The conclusion, therefore,

is that Mokṣa is attained through the second kind of 'self-knowledge.'

- (vii) To crown all, we have the declaration at the end of Ātmavāda, Ślokavārtika, to the following effect—
 'Thus has the author of the Bhāṣya, with a view to refute Atheism established, by means of reasonings, the existence of Ātman ; *conviction regarding this becomes strengthened by a careful study of the Vedānta.*'

We cannot ignore the points of difference between the two systems ; but when the points of agreement—and that too on the very essentials of philosophy—are so important, we may be permitted to entertain the hope that had the two protagonists met earlier, the points of difference—mostly in regard to non-essentials—would have been easily talked over, and a more intelligible philosophy evolved for the benefit of mankind.

THE ANTIQUITY OF THE POONA DISTRICT.

BY DR. D. R. BHANLARKAR.

Many ancient monuments have been found in what is known at present as the Poona District. We have thus cave temples of importance existing at Kārle or Vehārgāon, Bhājā, Beḍsā, and Junnar, ranging in point of age between the first century B.C. and the third century A.D. It may, therefore, be naturally asked why we should doubt the antiquity of this District. This is not, however, what is intended by the subject of this paper. The District has been named after Poona, which is its head-quarters and is situated at the confluence of the Muḷā and Muṭhā rivers. The first question that here arises is : whether Poona is an ancient town. Historically it was not known to be in existence much before the time of Śivajee, the founder of the Marāṭhā empire. Is there any documentary evidence to show that Poona was known before the Muhammadan period ? We are no doubt told that five Muhammadan ascetics came from Delhi to Poona in A.D. 1290, desecrated the Hindu temples of Puṇeśvar and Nārāyaṇeśvar on the bank of the Muṭhā and converted them into what are now called Shaikh Shallā Dargāhs,¹ shewing that the first temple was named after Poona which must therefore have existed there before the end of the thirteenth century. But this is a mere tradition, and is not of much consequence historically. Similarly it is true that there are two plain caves not far from the Fergusson College and one rock-hewn temple of Pañchāleśvar of the seventh century A.D. situated in Bhāmburḍā, a suburb of Poona. But the archaeologists will tell us that the presence of a cave is not a sure indication of an old town having existed in the close vicinity. Even supposing for the moment on the strength of these monuments in the neighbourhood of Poona that it was an ancient town, the questions irresistibly crop up : what was its old name ? Was it in any form corresponding to the present name, namely, Poona ?

¹ *Bomb. Gazet.* Vol. XVIII, Pt. III, p. 402. In January 1913 two images were unearthed near one of these Dargāhs. But they were Jaina, not Hindu (*Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind. West. Circle*, for 1912-13, p. 5, para 20).

Was it, above all, the principal town of a district or province as it has been since the time of the Ādil Shāhi dynasty of Bijāpur? All these questions naturally arise and demand satisfaction. Secondly, with Poona are associated a number of places, such for instance, as Dāpuri, situated on the Muḷā and six miles north of Poona, which was the rainy season residence of the Governor of Bombay till 1865 when the new Government House was built at Ganeshkhind.² Similarly, if we turn southwards, we have Jejuri noted for the temple of Khaṇḍobā, and Vir 8 miles further south-west famous for a temple of Mhaskobā and situated on the Nirā. As a matter of fact, Vir is on the outskirts of the Poona District, just where it touches the Sātārā District. It may also be asked whether there is any documentary evidence to indicate that these and such others as are commonly associated with Poona were in existence before the time of Śivajee, and, if so, in what districts they were comprised.

More than a century before Śivajee was born lived Chaitanya, the founder of modern Vaishṇavism in Bengal. In 1510-11 A.D. he and his followers started on a pilgrimage to South India. He was accompanied by a companion of his called Gobind Dās who wrote an account of this pilgrimage known as *Gobindadāser Kaḍchā*. Having visited the places of the Madras Presidency, the party turned northwards, and after crossing the hills near Bijāpur they lighted upon Pūrṇā-nagara,³ which has been rightly taken to be Poona. One characteristic of the Poona Brāhmaṇs early in the sixteenth century, noticed by Gobind Dās, was that there was a regular craze for committing the Gitā and the Bhāgavata to memory. And he mentions one funny incident of an illiterate Brāhmaṇ, who was a diligent student but who "neither understood nor correctly recited the ślokas with which he kept himself engaged day and night"⁴ and thus made a laughing stock of himself with the Pandits there. From Pūrṇā-nagara or Poona, Chaitanya, we are told, went through the hills to Bholeśvar and from there to Jijūri-nagara.⁵ At this latter place, he is said to have reformed the

² *Bomb. Gazet.*, Vol. XVIII, Pt. III., p. 128.

³ *Kaḍchā*, pp. 132-3.

⁴ *Chaitanya and His Age*, by D. C. Sen, p. 31.

⁵ *Kaḍchā*, pp. 138-40.

devadāsīs of the god Khāṇḍabā called Murāris. Khāṇḍabā is obviously Khaṇḍobā, and Murāris the Murḷis, the girls devoted to the god. Jijūrī-nagara must therefore be Jejūrī, and it will be seen that Bholeśvar must denote Bhuleśvar Mahādev whose temple stands at Mālsiras, two miles to the north-east of Jejūrī. Mālsiras is itself so called from the hilly ground or *māl* on which it stands. This explains why Chaitanya had to go to Bholeśvar through the hilly passes. From Jejūrī he marched to Chorānandī in the forest of Bogul.⁶ Bogul seems unidentifiable, but Chorānandī is a mistake for Chorālandī and is doubtless *Chorāchī Ālandī*. At Ālandī he succeeded in converting to his faith one Nāroji, a robber chief, who with his band had infested the forest.⁷ This explains why the place is called *Chorāchī Ālandī* in contradistinction to another Ālandī called *Devāchī Ālandī*, twelve miles north of Poona. In the company of Nāroji who served as a guide, Chaitanya repaired to Khaṇḍalā on the Mūlā, from where he proceeded to Nāsik.⁸

The above itinerary of the Bengal Vaishṇava saint clearly shows that about the beginning of the sixteenth century, that is, more than a century before Śivajee saw the light, Poona and such places as Jejūrī, Bhuleśvar, and *Chorāchī Ālandī* were well-known. And the question that now arises is: whether Poona and such familiar places of the District were known in the pre-Muhammadan period. Fortunately for us, no less than four copper plate grants have been found within the last sixteen years which throw a flood of light on this subject. The discovery of no less than three of them stands to the credit of the Bhārata Itihāsa Samśhodhaka Maṇḍala. In 1913 Sirdar K. C. Mehendale, who was then Secretary of this Maṇḍala, was kind enough to send to me for decipherment a set of copper plates then found at Talegāon (Dhamḍhere's) in the Poona District.⁹ It registers a grant of five villages issued by Kṛishṇa I of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa dynasty on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day or Vaiśākha in Śaka 690, that is, on

⁶ *Kaḍchā*, pp. 142-3.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 144-8.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-51.

⁹ It was first noticed by me in *Prog. Rep. Arch. Surv. Ind., West. Circle*, for 1912-13, p. 54, paras 1-2. The grant was afterwards edited by Prof. Sten Konow in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIII. p. 275 ff.

Wednesday, 23rd March A.D. 768. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of five villages, namely, Kumārigrāma, Bhamaroparā, Araluva, Sindigrāma, and Taḍavale. All these places are expressly stated to have been comprised in the Pūnaka District (*viṣaya*). Their boundaries also have been specified. To their east were Khambhagrāma, Vo(Bo)rimagrāma, and Dāḍimagrāma. To the south were the Khadiraveṇa hills. To the west were Alandiyagrāma and Thiuragrāma, and to the north the Mūla river. All these localities except one have survived to the modern day. Thus of the villages granted, Kumārigrāma is Karehgaon ; Bhamaroparā, Bowrapoor ; Araluva, Ooroolee ; Sindigrāma, Seendowneh ; and, Taḍavale, Turundee. Of the villages situated on the east, Khambhagrāma is Khamgaon ; Vo(Bo)rimagrāma, Boree ; and Dāḍimagrāma, Daleemba. Of the villages on the west, Alandiyagrāma and Thiuragrāma are doubtless the well-known Ālandī and Theūr, the first better known as *Chorāchi Ālandī*, and the second as the favourite resort of Mādhavrāo Peshwā who died there. The river Mūla is obviously the present Muḷā which joins the Muṭhā near Poona. Khadiraveṇa, the hill to the south, has not survived in any modern name, though, of course, there are some hills there.

The localities mentioned above are situated in the eastern part of the Haveli tāluka. Let us see whether there are any places in the northern part which are of that early period. Here also another copper plate comes to our aid. It was in the possession of one Sāṭhaye of Poona. Its transcript and translation have been published by Mr. D. V. Apte in Marāṭhī along with some erudite notes in English by Mr. Y. R. Gupte in the *B. I. S. Maṇḍal Quart.*, Vol. 8, No. 3, p. 165 ff. This inscription also registers a grant of the same Rāṣṭrakūṭa prince, namely Kṛṣṇarāja I, and also on the occasion of a solar eclipse on the new moon day of Āśvina in Śaka 680, corresponding to 6th October A.D. 758. It will be seen that this charter is earlier than the Talegaon grant by nearly ten years. It records the grant of the village Bopakhaḷu, with its boundaries specified as follows : to the east, Kalasa ; to the south, the river Mūla ; to the west, Darpapūḍika ; and to the north, Bhesaūri. All these villages can be identified, and are well-known to a man of Poona. Thus Bopakhaḷu is Bopkheḷ, 4

miles north of Poona ; Kalasa, Kaṣas, 2 miles east of it ; the Mūlā, of course, the river Muḷā ; Bhesaūri, Bhosri ; and Darpapūḍikā, Dāpurī, which, as stated above, was uptil 1865 the residence of the Governor of Bombay, during the rains. What is, however, noteworthy in this connection is that we are told that all these villages are situated in the Puṇya District (*viṣaya*). Puṇya is obviously Poona. But the name we find for Poona in the Taḷegāon record is Pūnaka. It seems that the original name was Pūnā or Pūṇā, which was sanskritised partially into Pūnaka in the first grant and fully into Puṇya in the second as in modern times or into Pūrṇā as in Gobind Dās's *Kaḍchā*.

It is evident from the above account that Poona is not such a modern place as was imagined a quarter of a century ago. It was known long before the time of Śivajee, long before even the Muhammadan period of the history of Mahārāṣṭra, in fact, as early as the second half of the eighth century A.D., when the Rāṣṭrakūṭas were asserting their supremacy over South India. It was pronounced Pūnā or Pūṇā exactly as in the modern English form of the name. What is noteworthy is that it was then known not only as a town but also as the Head-quarters of the District named after it. What further deserves to be noticed is that all the important places round about it which are so well-known to a Poona man were also known more than a millennium years ago. The river Muḷā, so intimately connected with Poona, is doubtless the Mūlā or Mūlā of the copper plates. There is hardly a person in Poona who has not crossed the Kirkee bridge and gone out for airing near Dāpurī or Bopkheḷ. How many of them while indulging in the mild exercise of walking ever thought that they were passing by villages which were at least eleven centuries old ? Or if we turn towards the east, there is hardly a Poonite who has not heard of Urulī, Ālandī and Theūr. Here too he cannot but experience a surprise—an agreeable surprise, if he is told that these places were in existence and were known by these names more than a thousand years ago. Whether Ālandī had acquired the derogatory epithet of *Chorāchī* Ālandī may be doubted, but this much is certain that in 1510-11 A.D. when Chaitanya passed through the Poona District, it was surrounded by a forest infested by banditti and was for that reason called Chorālandī.

We have now to consider two more copper plate grants in connection with the antiquity of the Poona District. If the first two are concerned with the villages now found in the Haveli táluk, the next two that will now engage our attention throw light on those of the South-eastern or Purandhar táluk. If the first group belongs to the early part of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period, the second is even half a century earlier; that is, of the time of the early Chālukyas, who preceded the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in their sovereignty over the Deccan. The first of this second group that we have now to notice is the set of copper-plates found at Jejūrī which Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, Librarian, Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, was good enough to send to me for inspection in September 1916. A short notice of this inscription I published in the *Annual Progress Report* of the Archæological Survey of India, Western Circle, for the year ending 31st March 1917.¹⁰ The charter was issued by the Chālukya king Vinayāditya when his army was encamped at Bhāḍalī near Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa, and is dated in Śaka 609 (expired)= A.D. 687. The object of the inscription is to record the grant of a village called Vīra, in the Sātimāla bhoga of the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa viśaya. It was situated between Kaḷahaṭṭhāṇa, Parāñchika and Harinayiga and on the north bank of the river Nīrā. Of these localities Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa is the same as the modern Phalṭaṇ, capital of a small Native State of the same name. Bhāḍalī, from where the grant is issued, is undoubtedly the present Budleebudruk (Atlas Sheet No. 39), five miles south-east of Phalṭaṇ. Vīra, the village granted, is certainly the modern Vīr, from which the surname Vīrkar among Deśastha Brāhmaṇs is derived. It is about 1½ miles to the north of the river Nīrā, which again is identical with the river of the same name mentioned in this grant. The village Kaḷahaṭṭhāṇa cannot at present be identified. Parāñchika is obviously Parañchi and Harinayiga, Harṇī, about 3 and 2½ miles north and north-east of Vīra, respectively.

Before we deduce any conclusions of general interest from a critical consideration of the above grant, it is desirable to consider the contents of a fourth grant, which was found at Bopgāv in the Purandhar táluk, and edited in Marāṭhī by Mr. K. N. Dikshit in

¹⁰ P. 4, para 20 and p. 49, para 4. It is edited in *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIX, p. 62 ff.

B. I. S. Maṇḍala Quart., Vol. 2, No. 2, p. 1 ff. To his paper has been attached a postscript by Mr. K. V. Purandare, the discoverer of the plates, containing identification of the places specified in the epigraph. The grant was issued by the Chālukya king Vijayāditya, son of Vinayāditya, the donor of the Jejūri charter just summarised, and is dated Śaka 640 in the month of Chaitra on the full-moon day coinciding with the Saṅkrānti and corresponding, no doubt, to Monday, 21st March A.D. 718. At that time the king was encamped at Hatampura, and granted the village of Nirguṇḍī near Daviḷa, included in the Samagiri District (*viṣaya*). About 4 miles to the south of the Purandhar fort is the village of Divaḷe, and near Divaḷe are situated Nigaḍe and Hātve. There can be little doubt that they stand respectively for Daviḷa, Nirguṇḍī and Hatampura of this grant. As regards Samagiri after which the District is called, Mr. Purandare proposes to identify it tentatively with the Purandhar fort.

Let us now compare the contents of these two grants one with the other. All the villages mentioned in them except one are at present situated in the Purandhar tāluk of the Poona District. And what is strange is that they are in no way said in these epigraphs to be included in the Pūnaka or Puṇya *viṣaya*. What is still more strange is that though they are now comprised in one tāluk at present, the copper plates place them under not one, but two, *viṣayas*. These two are the Samagiri and the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa *viṣayas*. Of these Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa, as we have seen above, is the modern Phalṭaṇ. Though it is now the capital town of a Principality and is included in the Sātārā District, it was about the beginning of the eighth century the Head-quarters of a *viṣaya* containing the celebrated river Nirā, the celebrated village Vīra and other places, which now fall under the Poona District. Samagiri, the other *viṣaya*, cannot be identified with any confidence. What is noteworthy is that the villages mentioned as comprised in it are close not only to Vīra and others included in Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa but also to the Purandhara fort with which Samagiri is sought to be identified. It does not, therefore, seem likely that Samagiri can be the Purandhar fort as it is so close beside Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa after which was called another *viṣaya*. Perhaps it has to be located further northwards and may not be far distant from

Sāsvaḍ, which is the present head-quarters of the Purandhar tāluk.

It will be seen that in ancient times there were three *viṣayas* conterminous with one another—the Pūnaka or Puṇya *viṣaya* corresponding to the Haveli taluk, the Samagiri *viṣaya* almost co-extensive with the Purandhar taluk and the Paḷayaṭṭhāṇa *viṣaya*, which if it had not been the Native State of Phalṭaṇ as it is at present, would have formed a tāluk of the Sātārā District. Another thing worth noticing is that the *viṣaya* in that early period was not so wide in extent as a District of the present day but corresponded to its sub-division, the modern tāluk, in dimensions.

ON THE DATE OF ŚĀKAṬĀYANA-CINTĀMAṆI.

By K. B. PATHAK.

If we institute a careful comparison between Yakṣavarma's smaller commentary called Cintāmaṇi and Hemacandra's Laghuvṛtti, we shall find that Hemacandra has taken Cintāmaṇi as a model for his Laghuvṛtti which he calls स्वोपज्ञ or composed by himself. Now the relation between Śākaṭāyana's Amoghavṛtti and Yakṣavarma's Cintāmaṇi is the same as that which exists between Hemacandra's Bṛhadvṛtti and his Laghuvṛtti. Yakṣavarma assures us that he has reproduced all the sūtras from the Amoghavṛtti and has omitted from his abridgement only the गणपाठ, धातुपाठ, लिङ्गानुशासन and the उणादिपाठ; says he

गणधातुपाठयोर्गणधातून् लिङ्गानुशासने लिङ्गगतं ।

औणादिकानुणादौ शेषं निःशेषमत्र वृत्तौ विचार ॥

This verse which seems to have been misunderstood by previous writers can be interpreted thus :—One should learn gaṇas, roots, genders and uṇādi words in the Gaṇapāṭha, Dhātupāṭha, Liṅgānuśāsana and the Uṇādi-pāṭha; (but) every thing else in this vṛtti called Cintāmaṇi. This means that the difference between the Amoghavṛtti and the Cintāmaṇi is that the former contains, in addition to the sūtras, (1) the Gaṇapāṭha, (2) the Dhātupāṭha, (3) the Liṅgānuśāsana, and (4) the Uṇādi-pāṭha. It may be remarked here that the Uṇādi sūtras of Jaina Śākaṭāyana as found in the Amoghavṛtti are quite different from those given in the Appendix to Pāṇini's grammar, as I have proved in another paper. I must lay stress on the fact that the Cintāmaṇi reproduces all the sūtras in the same order as they are found in the Amoghavṛtti. It is thus clear that an index to the sūtras in the Amoghavṛtti will also serve the purpose of an index to the sūtras in the Cintāmaṇi.

Let us now turn to Hemacandra's two works Bṛhadvṛtti and Laghuvṛtti. Hemacandra is silent as regards the difference between his two works. But the Cintāmaṇi's description of its contents is equally applicable to Hemacandra's Laghuvṛtti, which omits (1) the Gaṇapāṭha, (2) the Dhātupāṭha, (3) the Liṅgānuśāsana, and (4) the Uṇādi-pāṭha, and reproduces all the sūtras in the Bṛhadvṛtti, in the same order in which they are found in the latter work. Thus an index to the sūtras in the Bṛhadvṛtti is also an

index to the sūtras in the *Laghuvṛtti*. Far more important than the above facts is the absence, in the four treatises just compared, of sūtras corresponding to those of Pāṇini dealing with neuter tat-puruṣa compounds :—

संज्ञायां कन्थोशीनरेषु	II, 4,20
उपशोपक्रमं तदाद्याचिरव्यासायाम्	II, 4,21
छायाबाहुल्ये	II, 4,22
सभाराजामनुभ्यपूर्वा	II, 4,23
अशाला च	II, 4,24
विभाषा सेनासुराच्छायाशालानिशानाम्	II, 4,25

Candra has his corresponding sūtras in II, 2, 67-74; and Pūjya-pāda in his *Jainendra* 1, 4, 113-118. But we look in vain for similar sūtras in the works of Śākatayana. Yakṣavarman and Hemacandra. In the case of Śākatayana, the reason why such sūtras are not to be found in his *Amoghavṛtti* is that he has dealt with such neuter-compounds in his *Lingānuśāsana*, which is an integral part of the *Amoghavṛtti*, and which occurs immediately after his sūtra.

नपोऽचो ह्रस्वः I, 2, 1

श्रीवृक्षलिङ्गमङ्गं यस्य चतुर्लिङ्गदतिशयालिङ्गं ।

तस्मै नमः त्रिलिङ्गालिङ्गाक्षरभाव लिङ्गाय ॥

द्वन्द्वैकत्वं संख्याव्ययपूर्वपदपथोऽथ तत्पुरुषो ।

नन्त्रकर्मधारयो बहुवेभ्यश्छाया सभाशाला ॥

राजार्थेराक्षसादेरराज्ञ आदावुपक्रमोपज्ञं ।

संज्ञायां कंठो(यो)शीनरेषु सेनासुराच्छाया ॥

शाला निशा च वोर्णो(र्णा)स्थूणे शशगृहपरे सुदिनपुण्या- ।

देकाश्वा(चा)हो रात्रः संख्यायां किल युगम(म)याने ॥

The *Cintāmaṇi* of Yakṣavarman, which is admittedly an abridgment of the *Amoghavṛtti* and omits the *Lingānuśāsana* has of course no sūtras treating of neuter tat-puruṣa compounds. These remarks equally hold good in the case of Hemacandra's *Bṛhadvṛtti* and *Laghuvṛtti*. These facts will convince Sanskrit scholars that the *Cintāmaṇi* was accepted as a model by Hemacandra for his *Laghuvṛtti*. It is thus clear that both the *Amoghavṛtti* and the *Cintāmaṇi* were laid under contribution by Hemacandra for the material of his two grammatical works. Therefore, Yakṣavarman lived before the twelfth century.

AN AUTHENTIC BUT UNPUBLISHED WORK OF ŚAṆKARĀCĀRYA

BY S. K. BELVALKAR.

Śaṅkarācārya, the famous Indian religious teacher and Advaitic philosopher, has had to pay the penalty of his greatness by having falsely attributed to him the authorship of a number of late, third-rate Vedāntic works, small and large, only a few of which can at most be proved to belong to some one of the successors to the several Pontifical Sees, or Maṭhas, all of whom, as is well known, alike claimed the honorific title of “Śaṅkarācārya”. Thus, on the evidence of the *Catalogus Catalogorum* by Aufrecht, of the printed editions of Mysore, Śrīraṅgam and Poona, and of the excellent Reports and Descriptive Catalogues such as those of the Government Library, Madras, about 435 works pass under the name of the great Śaṅkara, over 60 of them being commentaries, about 150 *Prakarāṇa-granthas* or miscellaneous religio-philosophic tracts, and some 225 *Stotras* or occasional hymns addressed to various deities. It is extremely improbable that all these are authentic works of Śaṅkarācārya; and even the authorised edition of the Collected Works of Śaṅkarācārya in 20 volumes issued (A.D. 1910) under the sanction and approval of the late Pontiff of Śrīraṅgerī, includes a number of works against which one would be justified in entering a caveat. Consider, for instance, sentiments like the following :—

शरीरं कलत्रं सुतं बन्धुवर्गं
वयस्यं धनं सद्य भृत्यं भुवं च ।
समस्तं परित्यज्य हा कष्टमेको
गमिष्यामि दुःखेन दूरं किलाहम् ॥

—Viṣṇubhujāṅgaprayāta, 10; Vol. 18, p. 20;

कलत्रं सुता बन्धुवर्गः पशुर्वा
नरो वाथ नारी गृहे ये मदीयाः ।

—Subrahmaṇyabhujāṅga, 28; Vol. 17, p. 13;

यदा पुत्रमित्रादयो मत्सकाशे
रुदन्त्यस्य हा कीदृशीयं दशेति ।

—Śivabhujāṅga, 21 ; Vol. 17, p. 20 ;

अगाधेऽत्र संसारपङ्के निमग्ने
कलत्रादिभारेण खिन्नं नितान्तम् ।

—Devibhujāṅgastotra, 10 ; Vol. 17, p. 153.

The grief at parting from *his own* wife, sons, friends, relatives, house and possessions which is so feelingly depicted above cannot with propriety be said to lie in the mouth of the great Śaṅkarācārya, who lived the life of a celibate recluse. And the same remark must be held to apply to the passage in the Devīkṣamāpanastotra¹ which speaks of the wastage of over 85 years of the "author's" life, and which is thus on a par with the sentiments above quoted, and on which therefore S. V. Venkateśwara (JRAS, 1916, pp. 163 ff.) had obviously no right to rely in formulating his own views as to the date of Śaṅkarācārya. A careful examination of the alleged works of Śaṅkara would easily enable us to reduce their number to about a tenth of the present fabulous figure.

The purpose of the present paper, however, is not to essay the task of such a critical examination, nor even to indicate the main lines of procedure to be followed therein. This I am attempting in another place. Here I want to draw the attention of scholars to a work which can be proved to be a genuine work of the great Śaṅkara, but which has strangely enough failed to attract the attention that it deserves. Internal evidence as well as outside testimony of no less an author than Sāyaṇa, the Vedic Bhāṣyakāra, seems to establish its unquestionable authenticity ; and yet, in the midst of the prevailing eagerness to father upon Śaṅkarācārya works which he never did write or could have written, this work has remained unknown and unpublished. There does not exist, so far as I know, even a single MS. of the work in India. There are two fragmentary MSS. of it, one in the Bodleian Library at Oxford and another in the Library of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, while a third is reported to be in Berlin. A loan of the Society's

¹ Not admitted as genuine by the Vani Vilas Edition. Others regard it as the work of Vidyāraṇya.

MS. I was able to secure through the kind offices of Professor F. W. Thomas. The other two I have not yet secured for comparison.

It is well known that the Aitareya Āraṇyaka is divided into five Books called Āraṇyakas, the second of which consists of seven *adhyāyas* or chapters. *Adhyāyas* 4-7 constitute the familiar Aitareya Upaniṣad beginning with *Ātmā vā idam eka evāgra āsit*. *Adhyāyas* 1-3, however, form a unity and contain much matter of considerable philosophical interest. They in fact deserve to be treated as an Upaniṣad even much more legitimately than the third Āraṇyaka, which is designated by the special title of the "Saṁhitā Upaniṣad". Keith² calls *adhyāyas* 1-3 of the Aitareya Āraṇyaka II as the "oldest long Upaniṣad extant". There is a similarity of subject-matter between *adhyāyas* 1-3 and 4-7, and for all these seven *adhyāyas* of the second Āraṇyaka *plus* Āraṇyaka III we may employ the term Bahvṛcabrāhmaṇa or Mahā-Aitareya Upaniṣad, the name Aitareya Upaniṣad being restricted to Āraṇ. II, adh. 4-7, the Upaniṣad proper as commonly designated.

Now the Upaniṣad-bhāṣya of Śaṅkarācārya as current in extant editions, such as that in the Bibliotheca Indica or the Anandashram Series, covers just *adhyāyas* 4-7 of the second Āraṇyaka. But it seems that Śaṅkarācārya must also have written a commentary on the first three chapters of the second Āraṇyaka as well as the whole of the third. For, Sāyaṇa who has written a commentary on the Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka, while commencing his comment on Āraṇyaka II, says—

प्रथमारण्यके कर्म महाव्रतमुदीरितम् ।

.....

.....

कर्मकाण्डं समाप्यैव वेदो ज्ञानं विवक्षति ॥

आरण्यकं द्वितीयं च तृतीयं च तदात्मकम् ।

ज्ञानकाण्डं ततः सोपनिषदित्यभिधीयते ॥

करोम्युपनिषद्वाक्यां शकराचार्यवर्त्मना ।

आचार्यस्य प्रसादेन संसारान्मुच्यतां बुधः ॥

—Anand. Edition, p. 81.

Here, after distinctly stating that the subject-matter of Āraṇyaka I is "ritual", while that of Āraṇyakas II and

² See his edition of the Ait. Āraṇ., Intro., p. 43.

III "knowledge". Sāyaṇa tells us that *hence these two Āraṇyakas are designated Upaniṣad*, and that he is commenting upon the "Upaniṣad" *following the path of Śaṅkarācārya*. The obvious sense of this statement is that Sāyaṇa had access to the comment of Śaṅkarācārya not only on adhyāyas 1-3 of Āraṇ. II, but on the third Āraṇ. as well, the latter by itself being usually styled the "Saṁhitā Upaniṣad."

Looking to Śaṅkarācārya's published Bhāṣya on the Ait. Up. proper, it is easy to feel that it rather begins abruptly. It assumes a familiarity of the reader with the main contents of the three preceding chapters of the Āraṇ. which are briefly described by the Bhāṣyakāra in his own words.³ In fact the long introduction of the Bhāṣyakāra (Anand, ed. pp. 1-21) presupposes the unity of the treatment of the "Prāṇa" as given in the first three chapters of the second Āraṇ. with the treatment of the "Ātman" found in the Ait. Up. proper; and arguments are put forth to show that the two treatments do not involve unnecessary repetition. All doubt in the matter is however set at rest by the existence of actual MSS. of Śaṅkara's commentary on Ait. Āraṇ. II. 1-3 and III. The usual colophon—

इति श्रीगोविन्दभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्य[श्रीमत्]परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्य श्री-
शंकरभगवत्पादकृतौ बहुचब्राह्मणोपनिषद्विवरणे प्रथमाध्यायः (fol. 31b)
..... द्वितीयोऽध्यायः (fol. 42b)—

occurs, and what is more important, the style and the arguments clearly seem to proclaim the commentary as a genuine work of Śaṅkarācārya. Ignoring the first few words of the MS., which cannot be made out, the commentary begins with the following introductory sentence—

ब्रह्माद्या स्थावरान्ता स्वाभाविकाविद्यादिदोषव[शेन]⁴ संसारगतिर्नामरूपकर्माश्रया ।
तदेवेदं व्याकृतं साध्यसाधन[रूपं जग]त् प्रागुत्तैरव्याकृतमासीत् । स एष बीजाङ्कुरा-
विवाविद्याकृतः संसार आत्मनि [क्रिया]कारकफलाध्यारोपलक्षणोऽनादिरनन्तोऽनर्थ
इत्येतस्माद्विरक्तस्याविद्यानिवृत्त्ये तद्विपरीतब्रह्मविद्याप्रतिपत्त्यर्थोपनिषदारभ्यते ।

Compare with this the opening of the Bhāṣyas on the Kena Katha, Chāndogya, and Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣads. As charac

³ The editions wrongly treat them as quotations.

⁴ Words included within brackets are supplied by conjecture.

teristically Śāṅkara sentiments and expressions the following may be cited :—

Fol. 2a.—तस्माज्ज्ञानसंयुक्तादपि कर्मणो नात्यन्तिकी संसार[निवृत्तिः],
आत्मज्ञानादेव केवलात् संसारनिवृत्तिरित्येतत् प्रयोजनम् ।

Fol. 38b.—तत्रैव ज्ञापनम् । निष्कामेन यथावत् कृतं श्रौतं कर्म ज्ञानोत्पत्ति-
कारणमिति ।

Fol. 43a.—सम्यग्दर्शनं हि सर्वत्र सर्वपुरुषार्थसाधनं, न विपर्ययः ।

Fol. 53b.—प्रसिद्धं हि लोके दश दशत्यावर्तमानायां संख्यायां सर्वसंख्या-
संख्येयं च व्याप्यत इत्यत आह ।

Fol. 59a.—यथा रसस्पृष्टं लोहं सुवर्णतां प्राप्तुं शक्नोति न केवल-
मित्यत आह ।

Fol. 62a.—यस्मात्तत्र केवलेन सत्येन नापि केवलेनानृत्येन संसारस्थितिः,
किंतर्हि व्यामिश्राभ्यां सत्यानृताभ्याम् ।

Fol. 62b.—वाग्विकारश्च कर्ममूलश्च संसारः ।

The entire commentary is in fact marked by that peculiar quality of *prasāda* or perspicuity which is the dominant character of all the genuine works of Śaṅkarācārya. The commentary deserves to be published.

The following material for such an edition is at present known to be available :—

- (1) The Royal Asiatic Society, London ; M. Winternitz's Catalogue of South Indian Sanskrit MSS., No. 158. The MS. is written on palm leaves in Malayālam characters, is undated, and somewhat damaged. It contains Śaṅkara's commentary on the whole of the second and third Āraṇyakas. My paper is based upon a study of this MS. only.
- (2) The Bodleian Library, Oxford ; Catalogue by Keith and Winternitz, No. 1014 (1). Written on paper in Devanāgarī characters, and containing the com. only on the first three chapters of Āraṇ. II. and on a part of the fourth chapter.

- (3) Weber's catalogue of the State Library at Berlin mentions an undated new copy on paper of Śaṅkara's com. on Āraṇ. II and III. It is uncertain if this is independent of No. (1) above.

The India Office Library, London, contains a MS. (Eggeling's Descriptive Catalogue, Vol. I, No. 4) written on paper in Devanāgarī characters and giving Viśveśvaratīrtha's super-commentary on Ānandatīrtha's commentary on Āraṇyakas II and III. I have not seen this MS. We are told that Ānandatīrtha's commentary is not fully cited in the super-commentary, and even if we assume Keith's problematic identification⁵ of this Ānandatīrtha with Ānandagiri, Viśveśvara's commentary has admittedly no connection with Śaṅkara's commentary, and will therefore be of no use in settling the text of the latter. The same remark applies to the Bodleian MS. of Viśveśvara's commentary, numbered 1011 (3) in Keith-Winternitz Catalogue.

It will thus be seen that, apart from the doubtful Weber MS., there is extant only one complete MS. of this important commentary by Śaṅkarācārya on Aitareya Āraṇyaka II and III, and another fragmentary MS. for the early chapters of Āraṇyaka II. It is however not impossible that other MSS. will come to light, or that even some of the MSS. now listed in the Catalogues as Aitareya-Upaniṣad-Bhaṣya may, if actually examined, turn out to be MSS. of the fuller commentary on the Mahā-Aitareya Upaniṣad. The immediate object of writing this paper will be, accordingly, amply fulfilled if Curators of Libraries and private owners of MSS. in different parts of India and Europe are moved to examine the MSS. under their charge, and in the event of any of them turning out to be MSS. of the larger work, to kindly report the fact to me. A satisfactory edition of the work cannot be issued unless more MS. material becomes available.

⁵ For purposes of the identification it has to be assumed that Ānandatīrtha, besides writing a commentary on the Śaṅkarabhāṣya to the Ait. Up., wrote his own direct and independent com. on Āraṇ. II and III, the former being Advaita and the latter Dvaita.

THE POSITION OF WOMAN IN RABBINICAL LITERATURE.

PART III.

(Continued from page 114 of Vol. IV, N. S.)

By PROF. EZEKIEL MOSES EZEKIEL, B.A., LL.B., J.P.

Woman as wife.

Genesis (II. 23-24) points out not only the close intimacy between, but almost the very identity of, man and woman. The Hebrew word *yish* (man) and *y'sha* (woman) are etymologically connected, and are analogous to the Sanskrit *nara* (man) and *nāri* (woman). The idea of Genesis that *man* and *wife* shall become *one* flesh, finds its parallel in the Hindu conception that "the bone of woman is united with the bone of man, and her flesh with his flesh, as completely as a stream becomes one with the sea into which it flows (Manu, IX. 22, 45).¹ Hence the love of man for woman. Jacob's seven years' service for Rachel seemed to him but a few days for the love he bore to her (Gen. XXIX. 20). This love is a flame of celestial origin, and nothing on earth can quench it. As a divine gift, it has its seat in the recesses of the heart from which it spontaneously flows. "Many waters cannot," say the Canticles (VIII. 7), "quench love, neither can the floods drown it."

There is a profound moral significance in the Talmud's identity of the *wife* with the *house*. Rabbi Yehuda the Prince (135-220) mentioned his wife not as his *wife*, but as his *home*; for, "she it is," as he remarks, "that makes my home" (Yoma, 2a) The Midrash (Gen. R. 41. 5.) in its poetic glow, commenting upon the

¹ Zend Avesta records that a Parsee priest at the wedding of a couple addressed the bride's father thus: "Thou givest her for the earth and for the heaven to become one flesh and one soul (Jeschta Zade, XXXI).

scriptural verse "And Lot also, which went with Abraham, had flocks and herds and tents (Gen. XIII. 5)" interprets the word '*tents*' as signifying '*women*,' the *two tents*, being Ruth the Moabite and Naomi the Ammonite who descended from Lot's daughters. The Talmud remarks: "A man, who remains unmarried, diminishes the divine image by neglecting the propagation of the human race (Yeb., 63b; Pes., 113b)." Ele'azar b. Pedat, a Palestinian Amora of the third generation says: "An unmarried man is no man. (Yeb., 63a);" for the Scriptures say: "Male and female created He them, and called *their* name *man* (Gen. V. 2)." An unmarried man is only half a man (Fichte, *System der Sittenlehre*, p. 332). A man without a wife is without a bulwark against sin. Hence he lives without moral protection (Yeb., 62b). On the other hand it is remarked: "A woman finds no true contentment but in the house of her husband (Ruth R., 2). The great joy of the heart is the woman (Sab., 152a). How far *woman* in wedlock is acquisition to *man* is thus illustrated by the Rabbis:—(1) It was only after Adam became possessed of Eve that God *blessed* them (Gen. I. 28). (2) Ecclesiastes, despite its pessimistic tone, enjoins: *Live joyfully with the wife whom thou lovest* (IX. 9). (3) The ethical 'Proverbs' (V. 18) recommend: *Rejoice with the wife of thy youth*. (4) In the account of the creation God says of woman (Gen. VI. 18): 'I will make an *helpmate* for him (man).' (5) The last but not the least important is the dictum of the book of Proverbs (XVIII. 22): "Whoso findeth a wife findeth a *good thing*." Hence the Rabbis have well remarked: "Men who do not marry deprive themselves of (1) *blessing*, (2) *life*, (3) *joy*, (4) *help*, and of *good* (Mid. Shohar Tob., 59)." There are three things which bring a man comfort—a nice dwelling, a beautiful wife and fine vestments (Ber., 57b.)²

Conjugal Fidelity.

The relation between a betrothed or married couple makes strict observance of honesty, candour and probity imperative. R. 'Ammi says: Rain falls only for the sake of those who are

² Maimonides (1135-1204), holding a recognised position on the roll of physicians at the court of Saladin, the Sultan of Egypt, on hygienic grounds warns one against marrying too beautiful a woman since there is the risk of temptation to excessive sexual indulgence (*Sefer Refuoth*, Ch. XVI).

truthful (Taan., 8a.); for the Psalmist says : " Truth springeth out of the earth " (Ps., 85.12). Legend amply illustrates this with a didactic purpose. Rabbi Hanina says : Come and see the greatness of the men of faith from the story about "*the Weasel and the Well*;" for if a man have faith in a cat and a well, so much firmer should his faith be in God. The legend says : " A Jewish youth of a noble descent, while strolling through a forest, happened to discover a young maiden fallen in a well. The youth fell violently in love with her ; and on her promising to marry him to which he consented, he rescued her by pulling her up from the well. There were no witnesses to testify to their mutual promise to marry as would be essential under the Jewish law. They both agreed and hit upon the *well* she was rescued from, and a *weasel* that at the moment rushed past them, as witnesses. Returning to his home, the young man forgot his promise to the forest maiden and married another girl, whereas the maid of the forest, true to her pledge, would not marry. In due time the young man was blessed with a son. Not long after, the child through the neglect of its nurse accidentally fell into a well. Another child, subsequently born, being left alone, was carried off and devoured by a wild cat. The mother, whose children met with such strange fate, was told the incident of the rescue of the forest maiden and of the mutual pledge. Both consented to a divorce. The man married his earlier *fiancée* and the marriage turned out blissful. Says the Psalmist (Ps., CI. 6) : " Mine eyes are upon the faithful of the land, etc." (Levy. *Neuhebräisches und Chaldäisches Wörterbuch*, Vol. II p. 53. Col. 2 ; Leipzig, 1879).

Woman's beauty.

The Hebrews, like the rest of the Semites, admire physical beauty. The daughters of Shem were esteemed most beautiful (Pesik. R., 38 Ed. Friedmann, p. 13b). Sarah and Abishag receive praise for their womanly beauty (Gen., R. XL). The Mishnah (Ned., 66a) says : " The daughters of Israel are all beautiful by nature, only poverty disfigures them." The Talmud mentions that ten measures of beauty came down into the world ; nine of these went to Jerusalem, and one to the rest of the world (Kid., 49b). The Rabbis, in estimating the beauty of a woman, paid a higher regard to harmony of features. It is narrated in the Talmud

(Ned., 66b), that a man solemnly made a vow before Rabbi Ishma'el the son of R. Jose (end of the 2nd cen.), against living with his wife until R. Ishma'el should convince him, at least, of one becoming feature in her. In the midst of the interview the learned Rabbi inquired: "Perhaps she has a nice head!" "No, it is round in shape." "She has perhaps comely hair!" "They become like flaxstalks after they are soaked." "She has probably beautiful eyes!" "They are bleared, dripping and dim." "Perchance she has well shaped ears!" "They are bent and deformed." "Has she a fine shaped nose?" "Her nose is obstructed." "Her lips may be fine!" "They are indeed thick." "She may have a graceful neck!" "It is too short." "She has perhaps a nice belly!" "It is swollen!" "Perhaps her feet are nice!" "They are wide and look like unto those of a goose." "She may have a decent name!" "*Lakhlukhith* is her name." R. Ishma'el then answered: "They have appropriately given the name *Lakhlukhith* (i.e., mixture) to a woman who is such a compound of bodily defects. Since this suitable name is one redeeming feature in her, you cannot separate from her." In pursuance of the Rabbi's reply the man did not put his wife away but permitted her to live with him (Ned., 66b; Levy, *Opus Cit.* Vol. II, p. 508 Col. 2). The Hindu Law, in directing the choice of a wife, ordains that a Brahman should choose a wife from a family which has produced illustrious scholars, and which is free from all hereditary infirmity. She must be a virgin, having all the attributes of excellence; her name should be agreeable and auspicious: she ought to have neither too much nor too little nor reddish hair; she should be healthy and comely; her gait should be graceful like that of a flamingo or a young elephant; she must not be intolerably loquacious (Manu. III. 4-12; Yajña. I. 52-54).³ The 'Arab valued woman mainly for her points of physical excellence tabulated in a standard of eight "*fours*." "A woman should have *four* things: black hair, eyebrows, eyelashes and the dark part of the eyes. *Four* things white: the skin, the white of the eyes, the teeth and the legs. *Four* red: the tongue, the lips, the middle of the cheek and the gums. *Four* round: the head, the neck, the forearm and the ankle. *Four* long: the back, the fingers, the arms

³ A beautiful bride is happy, when she gives public homage to her well-beloved. (Wilson. *Rig-Veda* Vol. VI., p. 69, V. 12).

and the legs. *Four wide* : the forehead, the eyes, the bosom and the hips. *Four thick* : the lower part of the back, the thighs, the calves and the knees. *Four small* : the ears, the breasts, the hands and the feet. (Pollard, *Oriental Women*, p. 248, in the series '*Woman in All Ages and All Countries*', the Rittenhouse Press, Philadelphia)."

Beauty, its specimen.

The Rabbis allude to one of the 'Amoraim—R. Joḥanan (180-279) bar Nappāḥa (the smith) as one of the survivors of the handsome men of Jerusalem. Of him it is narrated in the Talmud as follows : "He who seeks to estimate the beauty of R. Joḥanan should take a cup of refined silver, fill it with the seeds of a red pomegranate, crown it with a wreath of red roses, and place it between sun and shade. The images reflected from it will give a slight resemblance of the beauty of R. Joḥanan (B. Metz., 84a)." ⁴ Beauty, according to the Hebrews, is a divine gift. Dr. Moritz Lazarus (1824-1903), the distinguished founder of *Völkerpsychologie* (Science of National Psychology) in Germany, has emphatically remarked in his *Die Ethik des Judenthums* that even beauty, so often disparaged by other systems and charged with seducing to sin, is in Judaism considered of divine creation, a quality of things and persons desired of God. Struck by the extraordinary beauty of a heathen woman, R. Simon ben Gamliel exclaimed, in the words of the Psalmist (Ps. C. IV. 24), "O Lord, how great are thy works ! In wisdom hast thou made them all (Aboda Zarah 20a ; *vide Ethics of Judaism*, Eng. Trans. by Miss H. Szold, Part II, Philadelphia, 1901, p. 85)."

⁴ Ben Sira (Eccles., L.) compares the High Priest Simeon b. Joḥanan, at the moment of his exit from the Holy of Holies on the day of Atonement, to the sun, moon and stars, and to the most magnificent plants (Strack : *Ben Sira*, Leipzig 1903, p. 52 ; Gratz *Gesch.* II 239 ; Hamburger, R. B. T. II. p. 111). The Canticles (VII. 2-8) contain a flattering delineation of a woman's beauty, while Chap. V. 10-16 holds the graphic description of a man's beauty (cf. also *Verg. Aen.* XII 65 ; *Ovid. Am.* II Eleg. V. 39. It may further be noted that Yima in the Zend texts is called the *shining one* (*Vendidad*, II., 20, 23, 31, 43. Yaçna, IX., 13). He is also called the *beautiful*, or the *sunny*, or *he who gazes on the sun more than any other man*. The Jewish Midrash describes Adam as radiant with brightness, for "in the light which was created on the first day he saw from one end of the earth to the other ; and Adam is, therefore, called "the light of the world" (Hag., 12 a ; J. Sab., II., 5b.)

Respect for wife.

The Talmud sounds a note: "Always shall a man eat and drink less than his means permit, and shall clothe and cover with what he owns; but shall liberally supply his wife and children that are dependent on him (Hull., 84b). It was Raba who said to the inhabitants of Maḥoza (a large Jewish trading town on the Tigris): "Respect your wives that you may become rich and that both husband and wife may enjoy domestic happiness (B. Metz., 59a)."⁵ In fact one must always be circumspect in honouring his wife, because it is the woman who brings divine blessing into the house (B. Metz., 59a.).⁵ The Talmud aptly adds: "A man shall do nothing without consulting his wife," or as the maxim goes "if thy wife be dwarf, bend down and whisper to her" (B. Metz., 59a). In Greece the husbands never discussed with their wives subjects of the highest moment; they did not share with them their thoughts and aspirations (Donald, *Woman, her position in Ancient Greece*, 1907, p. 53). In Rome a woman could not carry on her private affairs without her husband's assistance. Roman history supplies instances of the despotism exercised by husbands over their wives. The law, laid down by Cato the Censor, says: "If you were to catch your wife, in an act of infidelity, you would kill her with impunity without a trial; if she were to catch you, she would not venture to touch you with her finger, and indeed she has no right." (Donald, *op. cit.* p. 88).

Wife's Domicile.

The Hebrew husband did not hold control over his wife in the manner of the Roman law by which the wife passed in the *manus* of her husband. In the case of Hindu women their lawgiver provides: "In her childhood a girl should be under the will of her father; in her youth, of her husband; her husband being dead, of her sons; a woman should never enjoy her own will and ought not to be in a state of independence. Day and night should women be kept by the male members of the family in a state of dependence

⁵ "Wherever females are honoured there the divinities are pleased; but when they are not honoured all religious acts are fruitless (Manu. III 56)". Cf. also "Honour women! They entwine and weave the roses of heaven into the life we live on earth" (Schiller).

(Manu., V. 148; IX. 2, 3). She has to be on the attendance on her husband (*Ibid.* II. 6, 7). A good wife shall worship her husband like a god even though his conduct be bad or debauched (*Ibid.* V. 154). She may be chastised with cord or bamboo cane, on committing a fault (*Ibid.* VIII. 299) ”⁶. Turning to the tenets of Parseeism we find Zarathustra dictating: “The wife must have reverence for her husband as for God. Every morning she must place herself before the husband, and with hands folded over repeat nine times the words ‘What thou desirest, will I do’. Then she makes him a *sijdah*, kisses his person, and passes her hands over three times from his brow down to the earth and *vice versa*. Then she goes forth to execute his commands. Similarly does an unmarried girl owe allegiance to her father, or to her brother and lastly to him who is her master (Kleuker, *Zend Avesta*, Vol. III. p. 231).” On the other hand the Rabbis have held that a wife, in her marital state, rose to a higher grade with her husband and was not degraded with him (Ket., 48a). In fact the Talmud sounds an ethical note, saying: “He who loves his wife as himself, honours her more than himself, leads his children to the path of virtue and marries them at puberty, to him the Scriptural verse ‘Thou shalt know that peace is thy abode’ aptly applies (Yeb., 62b; San., 76b; Yalk. Job. 990).” A Hebrew woman enjoyed the blessings of liberty and independence. After marriage she was bound to follow the domicile of her husband, the Rabbinical opinion being in accord with the general principles of civil codes. In a few exceptional cases, however, where the Rabbis disagree, the points of difference incline in favour of the woman. With respect to marriages, the Rabbis have deemed Judea, the land beyond Jordan, and Galilee as three distinct countries. The Rabbis have ruled that a woman cannot be compelled to follow her husband *out of her own country* from town to town, and from

⁶ Woman always and necessarily belonged to the household not to the community; and in the household itself she necessarily held a position of domestic subjection—the daughter to her father, the wife to her husband, etc. This was not merely the case with the old religious marriage, but the *civil marriage* also gave the husband proprietary power over his wife; and accordingly, the principles that regulated the acquisition of property, the legal ideas of *formal delivery* (co-emptio) and prescription (usus), were applied without ceremony to the nuptial contract (Momsen, *History of Rome*, trans. by Dickson Vol. I. 1862 p. 60).

one borough to another but *within her own country* she can be compelled to follow him from town to town or from borough to borough, but not from a town to a borough, or from a borough to a town. The reason is that in a borough the comforts of life are not so easily obtained, while in a town the air is not so pure. The husband, therefore, cannot force his wife to be exposed to a change of habits that may prove injurious to her health. She can, however, be compelled to follow him from an inferior dwelling to a superior one and not *vice versâ*. If a bridegroom residing in one country marries in another, the wife is bound to go with him, since following him is assumed to be a necessary condition of the marriage (Ket., 110a : *Eben Ha'ezer*, Sec. 74). The pious sentiment for the Holy Land led the Rabbis to adopt the rule that if the husband desired to settle in Palestine, the wife had to accompany him under all circumstances, except only that she could refuse under a plea of travelling risks (Ket., 110a).

The obligations of a Wife.

Elijah, the great prophet of Ahab's days whose memory be blessed, is represented in the Talmud and the Midrashim as one interceding in behalf of the pious. He is expected at the Messianic epoch, to elucidate doubts and to prepare the heavenly kingdom (Levy, *opus.cit.* 1876, Vol. I., p. 84). It was R. Jose who, once meeting prophet Elijah, asked him the way in which the wife could be helpmate of the husband (Gen. II. 18). The prophet replied : "When a man brings home wheat and flax, can he himself prepare the former for his meal, and to make clothes from the latter. Does not the wife, thus, prove to be light to the eyes of her husband and help him to stand upon his feet ? (Yeb., 63a)". The sphere of activity of the woman was confined to the house,⁷ and was limited to the domestic work and such personal attendance as due upon the husband (Ket., 61a). She must not shirk her work in the event of her having servant, for the sheer reason that sloth and idleness lead to distraction (Ket., 59a). If the woman slumber, the work basket falls to the ground (San., 7a), or as Rashi explains : "If the housewife be idle and neglect her house, everything goes

⁷ Cf. "All glorious is the King's daughter within the palace" (Ps. 45, 11).

to ruin (Eccl. X. 18)". She could, in no way be compelled to labour for others or do any work as unbecoming or harmful to her physical charms. There, however, remarks the Talmud: "No home that is supported by the wife shall enjoy divine blessings (Pes., 50b., 83b)."

Sabbath Light.

According to the Rabbis it is especially one of the proudest duties of Jewish women to kindle the lights in the house on Sabbath eve a little before the Sabbath is ushered, in strict observance of the Rabbinic precept aiming at securing domestic peace. Perhaps this conveys a mystic principle, the profound meaning of which, as M. Friedmann explains, is: "Woman can quench the light of life; on her, therefore, the mother of the household, falls the duty of kindling the Sabbath Lights. In the story of the Creation man occupies a middle place, between the brutes and woman. Whether he is to be lifted up out of the ranks of the bestial world, or whether he is to be thrust back into it, depends entirely upon her. (*Jew. Quart. Review*, Vol. III, 1891, pp. 717 ff.)."

Maltreatment of Wife.

"You shall not oppress one another, but thou shalt fear thy God; for I am the Lord your God" remarks the book of Leviticus (XXV. 17). In view of this, which the Rabbis esteem as "ideal of conception and pervaded by humanity as by the breath of life", they (the Rabbis) extend their protection to the women deeming them as free women. Anyone committing assault and battery on them takes upon oneself criminal liability involving penalty for damage, pain and shame inflicted on the injured persons. A husband doing injury to his own wife is bound to pay her for her damage, pain and shame at once in a manner so as to permit her the free disposition of her property (B. Kam., 87a). The Talmud seems to be justified in its ethical note which runs as follows: "A man should always be careful lest he vex his wife, as her tears through great sensitiveness come easily; the vexation put upon her comes near to God; for though all the gates be shut, the gate of tears is never closed (B. Metz., 59a)". Dr. M. Lazarus remarks: "Tears! the Rabbis indulge in forcible words when they speak of the grave crime of causing tears to be shed. In the phraseology of religion,

in allegorical figures of speech, and in legendary accounts, they point out the power of tears to demand retaliation, especially tears elicited by injury done to honour (*The Ethics of Judaism*, trans. by Henrietta Szold, Philadelphia, 1901, p. 171).” Gratian’s *Decretum* was, throughout the Middle Ages, the great text-book of Canon Law. For an instance of wife-beating we find it stated therein: “The husband is bound to chastise his wife in moderation . . . unless he be a clerk, in which case he may chastise her more severely (vide Coulton, *Life in the Middle Ages*, Vol. III, p. 119, n. 1, Cambridge Univ., 1929).” On the other hand R. Meir b. Baruch, of Rottenburg, in the second half of the 13th century, could proudly say: “It is utterly unheard-of for a Jew to beat his wife, as it is customary among the people (*Responsa*, ed. Cremona, No. 291).”

Love and Harmony between Husband and Wife.

The Midrash has an instructive homily on the expression *yish* (man) and *y'shah* (woman). They have the letters *ysh* common forming the word *y'sh* meaning *fire*. The additional letter *i* in the former combining with *ah* in the latter forms the syllable *iah* (*jah*) meaning “*Eternal*.” If the letters *jah* drop, there remains the syllable *ysh*, i.e., *fire*, as between the faithless husband and wife to indicate that the mutual fire of passion and strife will consume them. Whereas love and harmony between them will invite the *Sh'khina* (Divine Presence) to dwell among them and lead them to domestic peace which implies the prosperity and well-being of the household (Soṭa., 17a). Manu, in Bk. III. 60, says: “In every family, where the husband is contented with his wife and the wife with her husband, happiness is assured for ever.” The German proverb says: “*Einem jeden Narren gefällt seine Kappe* (i.e., every fool likes his own cap)”, or as the French says: “*A chaque fou plaît sa marotte* (i.e., every fool rides his own hobby)”. The Hebrews believe that it devolves upon the husband to mould the character of his wife. The Talmud remarks: “The man, who marries a woman never married before, may be compared to one who acquires an article the design of which he has to shape according to his sweet will; while the woman, not having been married before believing that her carrying out the wishes of her husband—her life companion, should essentially render her new condition of life happy (San., 22b).”

The woman also can make of a corrupted husband, a virtuous man ; as she can also be the cause of his degradation⁸. The Midrash relates that a pious couple had lived together peacefully for a period of ten years. As they had not been blessed with an issue, they agreed to separate. Both married again. While the man's second wife demoralised and degraded him, the woman who had married a bad man, improved him and raised him to her rank. Hence the Rabbis remark : " Everything depends upon, and comes from, the woman (Gen. R., 17.7). ⁹ Happy woman is she who acts up to the desire of her husband (Yalk., Judg. 42)." Even Ben Sira (quoted in San., 100b) says : " A good woman is a bliss to her husband, the number of his days will be doubled". The Talmud draws a line of demarcation between the temper of man and of woman. *Man*, curiously remark the Rabbis, easily accepts conciliatory words and *woman* does not. The reason of this difference is not far to seek. *Man* partakes of the nature of the material of which he was created (*earth* being easily softened and melted) ; while *woman* participates in the nature of a *bone* out of which she was formed ; hence her nature is unbending (Nid., 31b). " Touch a *bone*," says the Midrash, " and it emits a sound" ; hence a woman's voice is thinner than a man's (Gen. R., 17). It is also remarked : " Just as *flesh*, to prevent its decay, needs spices to season it, so needs *woman* to be provided with jewellery on her person. Not so *man* created out of the *earth* which does not wither." Women are spoken of as loquacious. For the *ten* measures of loquacity that have come down to the world, *nine* have been allotted to women (Kid., 49b). The Talmud remarks : " A woman handles the shuttle while she talks". She pursues two aims at a time (Meg., 14b) somewhat in the manner of a duck that follows two pursuits at the same time. The duck bends its head down while walking and its eyes look around (B. Kam., 92b). The Talmud classes *woman* as compassionate (Meg., 14b). Providence has endowed her with power to discern more than *man* (Nid. 45b) ; and she can better estimate the character of a guest than a man (Ber., 10b ; cf. II Kings. IV. 9). Pride is unbecom-

⁸ Manu remarks that females of low birth have attained eminence in this world by the respective good qualities of their husbands (IX. 22-24).

⁹ This stands in strange contrast to the conception in the French phrase " Cherchez la femme (find the woman)" which suggests that a woman is generally at the bottom of every scandal.

ing to women (Meg., 14b). Anger in the house, especially a woman's is like a worm in the sesame plant and will make the house desolate (Soṭa, 3b). She should not bear her head proudly. She should avoid becoming repulsive to her consort (Gen. R., 18). She should not require of her husband things beyond his means to obtain. She must not give him opportunity to suspect by speaking freely to all and in jokes to bachelors (Ket., 72). The Midrash gives a delicate touch in its poetic glow, in its narration to the glory of the female sex, that when God, while forming *woman* out of the rib of the primeval *man*, said: "I will not make her from the *head* of man, lest she bear her head proudly; not from the *eye*, lest she be a coquette; not from the *ear*, lest she be an eavesdropper; not from the *neck*, lest she be insolent; not from the *mouth*, lest she be loquacious; not from the *heart*, lest she be of a jealous disposition; not from the *hand*, lest she be thievish; not from the *foot*, lest she be a run-about. I will form her from a chaste portion of the body (*rib*); and every limb and organ as He formed it, He said: "Woman! be chaste and modest (Gen. R., 18. 2)". Despite these measures to raise the dignity of woman, ancient history discloses instances of Hebrew women who have fallen victims to these tempers.¹⁰ Hence Ben Sira generalises that a bad wife is a leprosy to her husband (Ecclesiasticus, 26.3). One Raba b. Meḥasya remarks: "Rather any sickness than the sickness of the bowels: rather any pains than the pains of the heart; rather any disorder than the disorder of the head; rather any evil than a bad wife (Sab., 11a)."¹¹ Ecclesiastes passes a cynical and contemptuous invective on 'woman', saying: She is bitterer than death (VII. 26). In commenting on it the Midrash, in its dark and sombre picture, remarks: "There are certain powerful things which boast over one another. The mighty *deep*, claiming to be powerful, is subdued by *land* (earth). The land is easily overwhelmed by high *mountains*, which are levelled

¹⁰ Manu attributes to women a naturally wicked nature, and says that for that reason the wise are never unguarded in the company of females (II, 213-215; IX. 17-20).

¹¹ Rivalry and emulation do not exist but among the persons of the same rank and of the same condition. Hence the Talmud, in respect of a bad wife, gives vent to a proverbial expression: "Correcting a bad wife by giving her a rival will be more effective than thorns (Yeb. 63b)," since a woman is made jealous only by the side of another woman (Meg., 13a).

by *iron*. Iron is hard, *fire* penetrates it. Fire is extinguished by *water*, which the *clouds* absorb. The *wind* disperses the clouds. A strong *wall* can hold up against the wind. *Man* is able to pull the wall down. Man is powerful, but *sorrow* shakes him down. *Wine* drowns sorrow, but *sleep* overcomes its effects. Sleep is powerful, but *sickness*, defeating its purpose, is won over by *death*. A *bad woman* is worst of all; she is more bitter than death (Koh. R., 7)." R. Joshua b. Naḥman has said that along with three other troubles such as fear, worries from children and war, a shrew of a wife contributes to make a man prematurely old (Tanḥ *Haye Sarah* 2).¹² A modest woman, however, is worthy of being the wife of a high priest, for she is like an altar in her house (Tanḥ., *Wayishlah* 6). The merit of the pious woman brings safety to the world (Yal. Ruth., 606).

The Talmud is particularly happy in its delineation of the character of a woman when it states that she prefers an unhappy married life to singleness (Yeb., 118b; Ket., 75a; B. Kam., 111a). If the husband is a grower of cabbage, she asks for no lentils for the pot (Ket., 75a). Hence she will not hesitate to marry a husband with the meanest occupation in order to avoid the stigma of being unmarried. She feels elevated in social status and her seat is placed among the noble women, even if her husband be as insignificant as an ant (Yeb., 118b).

A peaceful home is not free from disturbing elements. R. Joḥanan says: "A wife dies for the shame, if one claim money of the husband and he is not able to pay it up (San., 22a). A man should always take care to have grain in his house, for no strife is more frequently in the house than that about grain (B. Mez., 59a)." A Talmudic proverb says: "When the barley is gone out of the

¹² An insignificant matter is sufficient to cause domestic trouble. The Talmud illustrates it thus. For seven years there was a quarrel between the male and female gnat. The male said to the female, "Thou didst once see a man from Meḥuza bathing and afterwards wrapping himself in clothes; thou didst then alight upon him and sting him. Thou didst get satisfied by sucking his blood, but thou didst not inform me!" It may incidentally be remarked that in respect of a gnat's sting, the Talmudists have a proverb: "They suspended on the gnat's proboscis sixty iron weapons (Hull., 58 b)." Vide also Dukes, *Rabbin. Blumenlese*, Leipzig, 1844, pp. 11 and 241.

pitcher quarrel knocks and comes in (B. Mez., 59a)."¹³ They mean by it that when abundance reigns supreme in the house, the husband and wife live in good harmony ; but when misery rushes in the house, discord accompanies it (Schul., *Sent. and Prov.* Paris, 1878, No. 878). A proverb quoted in San., 7a, aptly says : " When our love was strong, we found room to sleep on the broadside of a sword, but now that our love is not strong, a bed measuring sixty cubits is not sufficient for us." One of ' Ali's Arabic proverbs (Appendix Sec. 151) says : " The world is too narrow for two persons who hate each other". R. Jehuda b. Solomon Alcharizi, a Spanish Hebrew poet, who lived at the end of the twelfth and the early part of the thirteenth century, puts it, in his *Tachkemoni* (De Lagarde's Ed. Hannover, 1924, p. 194), as a moral maxim thus : " The broad world is too narrow, and cannot hold two enemies, while the space measuring a span suffices for a thousand friends. (Dukes, *Rabbin. Blumenlese*, Leipzig, 1841, p. 174)." Ibn Gabirol, in his ethical treatise—the *Choice of Pearls*, No. 281 remarks : " The space of a needle's eye suffices for two friends, whilst the universe itself can scarcely contain two enemies."

Death of a Wife.

A man, says the Talmud, finds contentment only with the first wife (San., 22a). A Spanish proverb says : " *La primera mujer escoba, y la segunda senora*", i.e., the first wife is a broom and the second a dame (Dukes, *Zur Rabbinischen Spruchkunde*, Vienna, 1858). The gloomiest event in a man's life, remark the Rabbis, is the demise of a wife. A South Slavonic proverb stands in strange contrast with the Talmudic view of the loss of wife and it says : " Happy is the man whose wife dies". Once a magistrate asked a peasant : " Why dost thou lament, O, thou mourner ! " " There dies to-day", answers the peasant, " my second wife ". " Silence, O, fool", retorted the magistrate, " it is a luck, that the wives die; to the unlucky die the mares" (Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 244). The Talmud emphasises : " He who sees his first wife die, has, as it were, been present at the destruction of the Temple. The whole world for him, who loses his wife, is enveloped

¹³ Cf. The German proverb says : Wenn Armuth zur Thur eingeht, fliegt Liebe zum Fenster hinaus (when poverty enters the gate, love flies away by the window).

in darkness. His very steps seem uneven, and he feels the loss of his best friend (San., 22a). A husband's death is felt by no one as much as by his wife; a wife's death is felt by no one as much as by her husband (San., 22a; Ruth. R. I. 3). There is a substitute to everything (every loss can be retrieved), except for the wife of one's youth (San., 22a)."

Woman as mother.

Mother in Hebrew is 'ém—a term common to Hebrew and the other Semitic Languages. Literally it means a *human mother*, but is also employed to denote a *mother-animal* (Ex. 22.19); a *mother-bird* (Deut. 22.6); and 'point of departure' or 'division of roads' (Ez. 21.26). In the Talmudic literature the term is used to signify (1) the *womb* or the mouth of a womb (Hull., 54a); (2) *mother-land* (J. M. Kat. III 81c); (3) *authority* or *source* to guide one in Scripture or traditional text (Suk. 6b) and (4) *seeds*, when used in the plural number, of plants (Peah, III, 4).

It is a curious psychological fact, and well established in history that all civilised nations—Greece, Rome and Judea were founded by heroes who were deprived, in their infancy, of the tender care and nursing of a mother. Zeus, among the Greeks, was fed by a she-goat, and Romulus, among the Romans, by a she-wolf. The Jewish Midrash records a legend that the mother of Remus and Romulus was dead, and a she-wolf was appointed (by Providence) to give them suck; and they built two large huts in Rome (Mid. Tellim. to Ps. X). Another version of the legend says that a she-wolf gave them suck until they grew up and became powerful kings.

The Hebrew has always felt sympathy with a woman and appreciates the price of motherhood, the dangers and risks that must be borne by her in order that she may be the bearer of life to another generation in fulfilment of the Scriptural dictum "in pain shalt thou bear children (Gen., III. 16)". The woman is valued highly as wife, and she is not less esteemed as mother. God is said to have compassion like a *father's* compassion upon his children (Ps. C. III, 23); but in extending peace to Jerusalem, God assures: "As one (grown up son) whom his *mother* comforteth, so will I comfort you (Is. 66.13).¹⁴ It is not a matter of surprise that not only

¹⁴ Vide *Pesikta d'Rab Kahana*, Ed. Büber, p. 139a.

there lay on the mother tender care for her children, but also their education was entrusted in her hands until their coming of age. R. Hya had a wicked, quarrelsome wife, whom he nevertheless treated with love and for whom he brought all new things that he saw on his excursions. When remonstrated for extreme leniency, R. Hya said: "It is enough that the wife instruct our children (Yeb., 63a; Pes., 14a; and Ber., 17a)."¹⁵ R. 'Akiba remarks in a pointed manner: "What shall a man do in order that his children become spiritual and virtuous? He should fulfil the will of God and the wishes of his wife (Kallah, I)." The Talmud even points out the physical influence of the mother conveyed to her offspring through heredity, and says: "The majority of sons take after the brothers of their mother (B. Bath., 110a; J. Kid., IV. 11). The Midrash (Tanh., Naso 13) illustrates the phenomenon, which a mother's thoughts and impressions at the time of conception go to the moulding of the features of her child, by the following legend: An Arab prince complained to Rabbi 'Akiba: "I and my wife are both Ethiopians, and my wife has given birth to a perfectly white child. Hence, she deserves the penalty of death for adultery". The Rabbi, so eager to establish friendly relations amongst married couples, discovered that the prince had white pictures in his room. He assured the Arab that the phenomenon of his child's complexion was due to the princess's impression of the extreme whiteness of the pictures—a phenomenon which patriarch Jacob obtained by means devised by him for artificially changing the colours of the new born sheep (Gen. XXX. 35-43). Hence the Talmud prescribes that on beholding a negro or a red-spotted person one should say: "Blessed be Thou who variest the forms of Thy creatures (Ber., 58b)". The purity of a breed traced to its pedigree is thus illustrated: One Nimus the weaver questioned R. Meir, "Does all wool which goes down to the dyeing vat come up with the right colour?"¹⁶ He said to him "All which was clean while on its *mother's* back does so

¹⁵ To the mother Manu confided the education of her children. "The bringing forth of children," he said, "their nurture, and the daily superintendence of domestic affairs, such are the duties of wives" (Bk. IX. 27). The Code of Hammurabi places a mother in charge of her son's education (Sec. 29).

¹⁶ This is metaphorically meant: "Do all who study the Torah gain piety therefrom?"

come up. All which was not clean while on its *mother's* back does not so come up (Hag., 15b)." So elevated is the dignity of the Law that the School of Jannai said: "With whom dost thou find the cream of Torah? With him who spat out for its sake the milk which he sucked from his *mother's* breast (Ber., 63b)".

A few Talmudic proverbs show how a mother suffers by the frivolous conduct of her daughters. They say: Ewe follows ewe; as the mother acts so does the daughter (Ket., 63b)¹⁷. "No cow is a gorer until her calf is a kicker, *i.e.*, the mother is judged by her daughter (Gen. R., 80)." The Talmud calls Cozbi (Num. 25, 15) *Sh'vilnay*—a colloquial name for a lewd woman. Hence in the case of the suspicious movements of a woman there arose a proverb, "What has *Sh'vilnay* to do between the reeds and bulrushes? Did she hug her mother there? (San., 82b)." Innate disposition does always come forth and it has given rise to a proverb: "Throw a stick in the air and it will fall back to the earth", *i.e.*, its mother (Tan. Balak, 17).

"The child's talk in the street is either the father's or the mother's (Suk., 56b)." The fact of many old men surviving the young has led to a proverb in the Talmud in which the expression *mother* is used. "Many foals died and their skins were spread on their *mother's* backs (Lev. R., 20)."

Careful Maternity.

The Midrash relates that at the attempted offering up of Isaac, he is narrated to have said to Abraham: "Take with thee the remains of my ashes, and say to Sarah, Behold these are the ashes of thy son (Yalk., Wayéra 22.101)". So intense was the love of Jochebed for her babe that over the child Moses, as it lay in the ark (Ex. II. 3), she spread a *canopy* to shade the babe, with the words, "Perhaps I shall not live to see him under the *marriage canopy* (Soṭa, 12b).¹⁸ For Mar, the son of Rabina, his mother prepared

¹⁷Cf. Behold, everyone that useth proverbs shall use this proverb against thee, saying: As the mother, so her daughter (Ez. 16.44). Cf. Mathew 12.3 'The tree is known by its fruit.' The German proverb says "The apple falls not far from the tree-trunk", *i.e.*, the son takes after his father.

¹⁸Marriage canopy or Heb. *Huppah* denotes the entrance of the bride into the bridal chamber. In later times it has come to mean a canopy under which a Jewish marriage is solemnised.—It is symbolic of the first close and intimate interview between the bride and the bridegroom (Maimon., *Ishuth*, X. 1).

seven suits of clothes for the seven days of the week ('Erub., 65a). R. Hanina b. Hama (died about 250), even at eighty, had youthful vigour which he attributed to the hot baths and the oil with which his mother had treated him in his youth (Hull., 24b). R. Ishma'el b. Kimhit (High priest under Agrippa I) had a hand so large that it could contain four Kabs of flour. When asked for the reason he said : " All women have done valiantly, but the valour of my mother has excelled them all (Yom., 47a)."

A Joyful Mother of Children.

A story is related of a woman named Miriam, daughter of Tanhum, who was made captive with her seven sons. On the sons' refusal to prostrate before an image of the idol, the chief of the place ordered each of them to be hanged in his turn. When at last the turn of the youngest came, she entreated the chief to let her kiss and embrace her child. On her request being granted, she further begged of the chief to hang her and the youngest son together, when the cruel tyrant retorted : " The Mosaic law forbids the slaughtering of an animal and its mother in one day (Lev. 22.18)". The mother then exhorted the son, saying : Let thy courage not fail thee. Submit to the fatal decree ; thou wilt depart to meet thy brothers, and shalt be placed in the bosom of Abraham. Tell the patriarch : ' Thou didst build an altar, but didst not sacrifice thy son. I have built seven altars on which I sacrificed my seven sons. Thine was the trial, but mine is the deed.' Hereupon the child was put to death. The bereaved mother then threw herself down from the top of her house and perished. A voice from heaven pronounced upon, and called, her (Ps. 113. 9) *a joyful mother of children* (Echa R., I. 16. Git., 57b).

Honour due to a Mother.

The Talmud says that one rarely finds *learning* and *riches* combined in one and the same person (San., 36a). Rabbi Judah, the compiler of the Mishnah, was blessed with both *learning* and *wealth*.¹⁹ In the hour of his demise, he exhorted his sons, saying :

¹⁹ A similar notion is traceable in Sanskrit literature. Kalidasa mentions in Raghuvamsha, Canto VI. V. 29 (Nirnaya Sagar Ed. 1920) the following:— " In him (a certain King) are combined both the goddess of wealth (Lakshmi) and of learning (Saraswati) that by nature, occupy not the same place." The Sanskrit text reads :—

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थं ।
अरिमन्दयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च ।

Take heed to honour your *mother*; let the lamp lit, the table prepared, and the couch spread in its wonted place. (Ket., 103a).

Once the mother of R. Ishma'el complained against her learned son to the Rabbis, saying: "Please rebuke my son Ishma'el for not paying me respect." The Rabbis turned pale and said: "Is it possible that R. Ishma'el should be guilty of such a conduct?" They asked her what he did. Whereupon she said: "When he returns home from his place of study, I wish to wash his feet myself but he declines." Then the Rabbis told him: 'Let her have her will; the fulfilment of her desire is honouring her (J. Kid., 61b; Cf. *Tosaf.* to B. Kid., 31b). Ben Sirah remarks: "One, who provokes his mother, invites upon himself divine curse (Ecclus. III. 16)."

The mother of R. Tarphon (living in the period between the destruction of the temple and the fall of Bethar) was about to cross the court yard on a Sabbath in search of her slippers she had lost. R. Tarphon, on seeing her bare-footed, went and placed his two hands under the soles of her feet, so that she should walk on his hands until she reached her bed. Once he was ill, and the sages went to meet him. Thereupon his mother said to them: "Pray for my son Tarphon, for he pays me unbounded respect." They asked her: "What does he do?" And she related the incident. Whereupon they replied: "Even if he does so a million times, he could not pay you one half of the respect, due to a mother, as enjoined in the precepts of the Torah. (J. Kid., 61b).²⁰

* It is narrated of a sage named R. Joseph, that he, on hearing the foot-steps of his mother, used to rise up and exclaim: "I rise up to meet the Sh'khina (Divine Presence) which is now approaching (Kid., 31b)".

The Rabbis have told that when Joseph was being brought down to Egypt as a slave, the road led past the tomb of his mother Rachel at Bethlehem. He ran from the hand of his captors, and throwing himself down upon his mother's grave wept bitterly, and called upon her for help. And from out the tomb, it seemed to him, there came words of comfort and cheer, saying: "My son Joseph, I have heard thy groans; I have seen thy tears: thy affliction is added to the burden of my sorrows. Trust in God,

²⁰ Cf. 'A mother', Manu said, 'is more to be revered than a thousand fathers' (Bk. II, 145; 225-237; IV, 162, 180, 183).

Fear not, for the Lord is with thee. Success and blessing are in store for thee (*Sefer Hayashar*)". This shows how a mother's love, for her children, never dies, but lives on in the lives of her children. Since Jewish mothers have shown, by their noble deeds and sacrifice for their children, character of "a true mother" and of the highest type of motherhood, the expression "A MOTHER IN ISRAEL" has become proverbial.

Woman as mother-in-law.

It is a strange fact, that diverse nations, independently cultured and settled in countries widely distant from one another, show a remarkable harmony in viewing the social position of mother-in-law in an adverse light. A mother-in-law figures in the German proverb as 'mother of the devil.' She is to be kept at a distance. It is proverbial with the Saxons of Transylvania to say, that the best mother-in-law is on the meadow, because it is not good to be under the same roof with her. They say in Albania: The mother-in-law at the door is as the mantle on the thorn-bush. Among many peoples in Asia, Africa, America, and Australia, it is usual with a son-in-law that he fears even to see his mother-in-law or to pronounce her name. He avoids to meet her, and invents new words in order to avoid uttering the very radical syllable of her name.²¹ Pandita Ramabai Sarasawati, in her description of *The High Class Hindu Woman* (pp. 46 and 47, Philadelphia, 1888), presents both a bright and gloomy picture of a married woman's mother-in-law. Klugmann (op. cit.) points out that the strained relation, between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law in olden times, is already shown by the ancient writers. Terence (*Die Schwiegermutter*, Germ. Transl. by Benfey, Act II, Scene I) says:—

"That all women desire the same and abhor the same"!

"One does not find one, who would not be quite like the others"!

"That's why each mother-in-law hates her daughter-in-law."

²¹ Vide Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Stuttgart, 1878, p. 159 and 161; O. v. Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Die Frau im Sprichwort*, Leipzig, 1862, p. 195—quoted in Klugmann, *Vergleichende Studien zur Stellung der Frau in Atertum*, Vien, 1898, pp. 42 and 43.

Plutarch (*Moralia* IV.35) remarks: "In Leptis there exists a custom, that the bride sends after the wedding to her mother-in-law asking for a pot; but the mother-in-law flatly declines to give it . . . in order that the bride may learn at the very beginning the mentality of the mother-in-law and not fling her into anger and wrath, in case, later on a worse occasion for anger may arise." The Talmud observes that the relation between a mother-in-law and her son-in-law is exceedingly cordial. Let the son-in-law send to his mother-in-law some food for cooking, she will, in the case of spoiled articles substitute better ones (Demai, III. 6, *Hullin*, 6a).²² This conduct of the mother-in-law may be attributed either to her sense of modesty and decorum before the son-in-law or to her intentions to raise the dignity of her daughter in the sight of her son-in-law. Ben Sira, (quoted in B. Bath, 98b) says: "I have weighed everything in scales and found nothing lighter than bran; yet lighter than bran is a bridegroom who lives in the house of his father-in-law." The Rabbis thought that for a man to live with his wife's parents might lead to immorality and extravagance in the household (Pes., 113a). The Talmud shares in its view, with the general opinion, that a mother-in-law is often hard with her daughter-in-law (Gitt., 23b; Yeb., 117b). Hence the Rabbis have fixed the law to the effect that every one is deemed a trustworthy witness in the affairs of a woman except her mother-in-law (Yeb., 117a). The Rabbis were, indeed, circumspect in insisting upon a daughter to live in the parental house of her husband and in preventing a son to reside with the parents of his wife (B. Bath., 98b, J. Ned., 39a).

Woman as widow.

Widow, in Classic and Mishnaic Hebrew, is termed *almanah*, and may be said to bear an affinity with the Assyrian *almattu*; (Delitzsch, in Zimmern's *Babylonische Busspsalmen*, 114). Its etymology is uncertain. Abu Alwalid Merwan Ibn Ganāh (the greatest Hebrew philologist, 10-11 century) analyses the expression *almanah*, as *illem* (dumb, or silent) with paragogic *n*. The widow is *silent* so far as the loss of her husband, who could plead her cause as

²²Manu remarks: a maternal aunt, the wife of a maternal uncle, a mother-in-law, and a paternal aunt must be honoured like the wife of one's teacher (II, 131).

against her opponent. Being helpless she is exposed to oppression and harsh treatment. Hence she is expressly included in the same Biblical laws of benevolence and consideration (Ex. XXII. 21). In the history of the world's culture the subject of 'widow' is a sad chapter breathing with thoughts concentrated in the trend that a widow is an 'inauspicious' creature. In the Hindu Society she is addressed with contemptuous expressions (Pandita Ramabai Sarasawati. Op. Cit. Ch. V). The Hindu law-giver authoritatively imposes upon a widow 'to emaciate her body by living on pure flowers, fruit and roots, and not to mention when the husband is dead, even the name of another man,' and further 'to let her, until death, be patient of hardships, self-controlled, and chaste (Manu, V., 151-158).' In reward of such conduct, a female who controls her thoughts, speech and actions, gains in this life highest fame and in the next world a place near her husband (Manu, V, 166). The code of Vishnu, which is later than that of Manu, says that a woman, 'after the death of her husband should either lead a virtuous life or ascend the funeral pile of her husband (Vishnu, XXV. 2).' It is probable that the priests pictured heaven in the most beautiful colours and the widow ascended the funeral pyre to get to the blessed place in company with her departed husband. Bestian remarks: "It happened sometimes that men who died unmarried were wedded after death; whereupon their wives burned themselves on the funeral pyre to accompany their husbands' souls (*Der Mensch in der Geschichte*, II. 269)." We may notice here a custom among the ancient Parsees. Kleuker (*Zend Avesta*, Vol. III, p. 230) states: An idea stands at the root of the Parsee *Satarzan* ceremony. For a certain sum a girl is wedded to a boy of fifteen or more who died unmarried. The girl is henceforth his wife. It is only through children that one gets into heaven, and through their good actions the parents easily pass over the bridge *Chinvat*.²³ It is, therefore, considered unlucky to die unmarried, and the Persians tried to remedy this state through such a marriage. West, in his Eng. translation of *Bundahish*, p. 143 note (Vol. V of *Sacred Books of the East*, by Max Müller, Oxford, 1880) states: "A

²³ Cf. G. Sale, *The Preliminary Discourse to the Koran*, Sec. IV for a similar idea among the Mahomedans who believe that on the last day all mankind will be obliged to pass the *straight bridge* leading directly into the other world.

Satar (adopted) wife is when a man over 15 years of age dies childless and unmarried, and his relatives provide a maiden with a dowry, and marry her to another man; when half her children belong to the dead man, and half to the living, and she herself is the dead man's wife in the other world." Tylor, the author of *Primitive Culture* (cited in Klugmann op. cit. p. 47), remarks that in some places the wife and the horse of a dead man were led round the grave three times. Thereafter nobody was permitted to ride the horse; and the widow was not allowed to remarry (*Anfänge der kultur*, I, 253). On the other hand Hellwald (*Frankreich*, p. 24) remarks that in many parts in France we have even to-day the ancient custom of *Charivari*.²⁴ Dalai Lama Sönan Gyatso, who spread Tibetan Buddhism in Mongolia, abolished the custom of burning or burying the living with the dead husband (Sir Charles Bell, *The People of Tibet*, p. 288; Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1928). The custom for a woman to die with the husband was common to the Germans, Indians, Thracians, Goths, Greeks and the Slavs. As time passed on, the cruel ritual vanished, leaving its traces in the custom of forbidding widow-remarriage. Paul, the Evangelist, remarks: 'Now she that is a widow indeed, and desolate, trusteth in God, and continueth in supplications and prayers night and day.' (Tim., V. 5).

The position of a widow with the Hebrews is not so lamentable. She is not forced to lead a life solitary and desolate. The Mosaic legislation records no prescription for a widow to follow the grave of her departed husband; nor was she compelled to renounce her hopes and desires in enjoying the worldly blessings, with which Providence has endowed both *man* and *woman* alike. The Hebrew widow is in no way deprived of the privilege of exercising her own discretion to choose a new companion in life, and live in peace with him. According to Hammurabi, a widow could remarry at her discretion. She no longer had to be given in marriage. She was to marry the man of her choice (Sec. 172). If a widow, whose children were young, had determined to marry again, she could not do so without the consent of a law court (Sec. 177). The Jewish woman,

²⁴ A *Charivari*, says Bayle, is a mock music given to woman that was married again immediately after the death of her husband (Dictionaire, 1735, Vol. II, p. 104).

even if she be a minor, becomes on her widowhood *sui juris*. After the father has given his daughter in marriage, he has no power over her, except that it is different where the husband dies after a betrothal (*'erusin*), but before marriage (*nissu'in*).²⁵ As the object of avowed sympathy, the Jewish law deems the widow as a privileged person and seeks all just possible means to compensate her for the loss of her husband—the natural protector (Deut. XVI. 11 and 14; XXIV. 19-21). God is described as one who doth judgment of the fatherless, and widow (Deut. X. 4). 'A father of the fatherless, and a judge of the widows,' says the Psalmist (68, 6), is God in His holy habitation. How a good man discharged his duty to those who needed help is ideally described in Job, XXIX. 12-16, where, in alluding to a widow the man says: 'And I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.' At the hearing of cases, the suit of an orphan was always heard first; next, that of a widow in rigid observance of an admonition of Prophet Isaiah (I., 17): "Judge the fatherless, plead for the widow." (*Hoshen Hamishpat*, 15. 2).

Woman as deserted wife—Hebrew 'Agunah.

'*Agunah*, from Heb. 'agan, akin to Aram. 'agan, means *kept back*, or *repressed*. In the Hebrew Scripture the word occurs only in Ruth, I. 13, and hence it is *hapax legomenon*. Kimchi remarks that the Talmudists used to call a woman having no husband '*agunah* (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*), Venice 1548 Col. 340, S. V. '*agah*). Later on it came to be employed in the sense of a woman tied down to an absent husband and prevented from marrying again. '*Agunah* may, therefore, be defined as a lawfully married woman who cannot obtain a bill of divorcement from her absent husband because his whereabouts are not known to her, and she has no proofs whether he (husband) is living or dead. Her status as a wife remains unchanged. She cannot be freed from the bonds of matrimony. She is unfortunately placed in the anomalous position of being a wife and widow at the same time. Her remarriage, according to the Jewish law, is not permissible unless she obtains a bill of divorcement,

²⁵ '*Erusin* or *Kiddushin* and *Nissu'in* are two distinct stages in the marriage ceremony. '*Erusin* or *Kiddushin* is the ceremony of betrothal or acquisition; while *nissu'in* is the ceremony in conducting the bride to the bridegroom's permanent home. '*Erusin* or *Kiddushin* is the very initiation of marriage carrying with it almost all the legal consequences of marriage.

which needs the co-operation of the husband, or a certificate of the death of the long absent husband. Jewish law knows no procedure, analogous to the one in modern times, when in a woman's suit for divorce on the grounds of her husband's desertion, she is granted a judicial divorce in the absence of the husband and without his consent. According to the Roman law, a wife could marry again if the husband was taken captive and did not return within a period of five years. (Digest Bk. XLIX. I. XV. Frg. XII. Sec. IV). There are, however, in order to alleviate the hardships of the deserted wife a few mitigations of the otherwise strict procedure of legal bindings in the case of a regular divorce before a matrimonial court. In the case of the regular divorce, there need to be a strict formula, the signature of two witnesses, the evidence of the bearer of the bill of divorcement, and a protest from the husband, if any, towards invalidating the bill (Git., 3a, 26b, 33a). In the case of the prolonged absence of the husband, the judicial courts, irrespective of the procedure necessitating evidence of two witnesses in matrimonial cases, allow circumstantial evidence to be admitted for the declaration of the death of the husband. These facilities are based on presumptions. It is not possible for a witness to resort to deceit in matters which will soon come to light. The deserted woman herself, interested in entering upon a new marriage, would not deceive the court by a false declaration for fear of consequences detrimental to her interests. The law distinctively says: "A woman, whose husband went beyond seas, receives intelligence of the death of her husband attested by one witness only, and upon that evidence she is married again; and it happens, that after such a remarriage the husband (supposed to be dead) returns, she must be separated from both husbands, and must receive divorce of both. She loses, with both, her rights to her marriage settlements, maintenance, repayment for the use of *usufructum* goods, and must restore whatever she received of either husband. On that account the offspring of both marriages are deemed bastards. Neither husband has a right to her findings or earnings (Yeb., 87b). To facilitate the marriage of an *'Agunah* the courts rely on the evidence of a single witness. In point of relief to the *'Agunah*, the Talmud holds two different views (Yeb., 25a; Bech., 46b). One view tends to favour extending facilities to the deserted wife; the other seems

to be rigid in the matter of evidence. The key to the solution of this contradiction lies in the fact that the proof of the absent husband's death is absolutely necessary in view of the circumstances that wrong statements are often made regarding absent husbands so as to give warrant for presumption of death. The Talmud insists, upon the testimony of persons who witnessed either the death or the funeral of the deceased, and also upon further details of marks of identification because of the difficulties in cases of famine, pestilence, fire and other accidents wherein masses perish. Similarly in the case of the husband dying on the battlefield, the court laid stress on the evidence of his death, whether he died at the front, in the hospital or in the prison, and required the witness to adduce proofs of unmistakable marks of the identity of the deceased by means of his wedding ring, service book, etc. It is not enough if the witnesses declare that they had seen him in the most dangerous situation (Yeb., 120a; J. Yeb., XVI. 2). If the husband was known to have fallen into and been drowned in a flood of waters the boundaries of which are within the reach of human vision, the woman was permitted to remarry. On the other hand the fact of the boundaries of waters being not within the reach of human vision does not furnish sufficient warrant for the presumption of the death of the husband to allow the wife to remarry." (Yeb., 11a; Dr. Moses Young, *The Jewish Law of Theft*, Philadelphia, 1929, p. 134).

Everyone is deemed a trustworthy witness to testify to a woman, concerning her husband's demise, except her mother-in-law, the daughter of the latter, her own rival, her sister-in-law, or her husband's daughter. It is likely that these females are suspected of bearing ill will (Yeb., 117a). The rigidity of the Talmudic law as regards evidence observed in the beginning "comes to be mitigated" in the end in regard to testimony in general. The statement of a messenger "before me it was written and before me it was subscribed" was deemed sufficient, in the case of the *Agunah* in favour of the validity of the *Get* (Letter of Divorce). Whereas in regular matrimonial cases everything must be proved by two witnesses; here, in regard to *Agunah*, the testimony of a single witness was deemed sufficient. Even the testimony of a woman, or of near relatives, and of other persons otherwise disallowed by the Rabbinical

law, can be admitted as witnesses testifying to a husband's death. Maimonides in his *Yad, Gerushim* XIII, 29, codifies as follows: "Let it not seem hard in thy sight that the sages have permitted remarriage of the wife upon the testimony of a woman or a slave, or an idolator making a statement in ignorance of its legal bearing, or upon hearsay or documentary evidence, and without cross examination; for, the Torah insists upon the testimony of two witnesses and upon the other rules of evidence only when the matter cannot be otherwise determined as, for instance, to prove murder, or to prove a loan—but where the matter can be otherwise determined and the testimony of a witness can be refuted, as in the case where he testifies that someone is dead, it is not to be presumed that he will bear false witness." The Rabbis, in relaxing the rigidity of the rules of evidence, rely on the Talmudic maxim: "In order to prevent the eventuality of 'widowhood in life', the Rabbis have made lenient rules for her (as regards testimony to her husband's death. *Yeb.*, 88a)." To prevent cases of wife's desertion, instances have been traced of post-Talmudic *Kethubot* (marriage writs) having clauses for the protection of the wife. A Damascus *Kethubah* of 1706 and a Livorno (Leghorn) one of 1787, treasured in the Elkan Adler Collection of MSS., provide that "he (the husband) shall not take a sea voyage or go to a distant land unless he leave her a bill of divorcement conditional upon a specified time for his return and maintenance, and that he shall not leave her as a result of a quarrel for longer than ten consequent days (Epstein, *The Jewish Marriage Contract*, New York, 1927, p. 277)."

During the last decade the condition of *'Agunah* has received careful consideration of the learned R. Isaac Elhanan Spector of Kowno (in his treatise *'En Ishak*, Kowno, 1888) and of R. Shalom Mordecai ha-Kohen of Bezezany and of R. Elijah Klatzkin of Lublin (in his book *D'bar Halacha*, Lublin, 1921).²⁶ Furthermore the Jewish journals of Poland and America publish the personal biographies and photographs of missing husbands. Miss L. Hands of London points out in her thoughtful essay on *Some Difficulties which beset the Jewess with special reference to her legal position*, London, 1918, that "Mr. Elkan Adler quotes the experience of R. Isaac Elhanan Spector of Kowno, who contrived to get the photograph

²⁶ Vide *Encyclopædia Judaica*, Band I, Berlin, 1928, p. 1070.

of a missing husband identified with a corpse which had been recovered from the Thames in London; but any mistake might have placed the kindly judge in a very difficult position."

Peeping into the ancient Babylonian civilisation we find Ḥammurabi codifying that desertion of a wife by her husband might be either involuntary or voluntary. In the former is included the case of a man taken captive in war. His wife, left at home well provided for, was bound to be true to him. She could not enter another man's house except on the penalty of death as an adulteress (Sec. 133). If she was not provided for, she might enter another man's house. There she might bear children. She had, however, to go back to her original husband on his return, and the children followed their real father (Sec. 134, 135). In the case of voluntary desertion of a wife, the wife might enter another man's house, if she was left unprovided for; and the rambling husband, on his return, could not reclaim his wife (Sec., 136).

The four schools of Mahommedan Law recognise the rule, following Imām Mālik, that in the case of a 'missing person' (*mafkid*) or a Moslem taken captive (it be not known whether he is dead or alive), his death would be presumed on the lapse of 4 years from the date of his disappearance and after observing the usual probation of 4 months and 10 days prescribed as the period of *iddat* in the case of the husband's death, his wife would be entitled to remarry, and her second marriage would be perfectly valid. If after such remarriage, the missing person reappears, "the wife would be for him," whilst any children born to her by her second husband would belong to the latter (Syed Ameer Ali, *Mahommedan Law*, 5th ed., p. 92 *et. seq.*).

Remarriage of a Woman (widowed or divorced).

Remarriage of a divorced woman is incidentally referred to in Deut. XXIV. 2. Some Talmudists recommend one to marry, as far as possible, a virgin. A woman who was twice widowed, if both husbands died natural deaths, might not marry again (Yeb., 64b; Yad, *Issuré Biah*, XXI. 31; *Eben Ha'ezer*, 9). R. Akiba raised his voice against one marrying a divorced woman or a widow, and gave utterance to a pregnant expression: "Cook not in a pot which thy neighbour has used (Pes., 112a)." In the teeth of his opinion

the Talmud also records : " When R. Jehudah (the Prince) sent his offer to marry the widow of R. Ele'azar b. Simeon (Tanna, 2nd Cent.)—a person of varied learning, who combined in himself all noble qualities,—the widow dismissed it with a refusal, saying that her late husband had been superior to him in scholarship and actions." To use the exact words of the Talmud, she said : " Shall a vessel that has been used for a sacred purpose be used for a profane one ? " (B. Metz., 84b ; J. Sab., X. 5). Krauss (*opus cit.*, 578) remarks : " The South-Slavs consider the marriage of a widow as an insult to her deceased husband." The general trend, however, of the Talmudic opinion is that the Rabbis have permitted remarriage as lying within the precincts of morality, with a Mosaic proviso that a man is not permitted to marry his divorced wife who had either, married a second time and had become a widow, or had been divorced from her second husband (*Gitt.*, 55b ; 56b). Such a remarriage was offensive to the moral sense of the Jews who looked upon it as an abomination. Nahmanides (1195-1270) in his commentary on Deut. XXIV. 1, remarks : " That this law was intended to prevent the immoral practice of exchanging wives " (*vide*, Michaeli's *Laws of Moses*, Vol. II., p. 138, London, 1814). The Mahommedan law enjoins (Al-Koran, Sura II. v. 230) that a man is not permitted to remarry his divorced wife, unless she is married to another husband and has been divorced from him. The Hebrews and the Arabs both aim at deterring the husband from being hasty in divorcing his wife ; yet the Mosaic law, in view of the woman's self-respect, ordains that she may not be treated " as a milch-cow, bought, sold and bought again."

The Talmud disallows one, who has committed or is strongly suspected of having committed adultery (Ket., 60b) with another man's wife, to marry her in case of her widowhood or divorcement from her husband (Soṭa, 25a).²⁷ The Rabbis are unanimous in their verdict that a divorced woman is absolutely independent to accept any hand. She becomes like a widow *sui juris*, and cannot be subject to the *potestas* of anyone (Kid., 2a). The only condition,

²⁷ Dr. M. Mielziner points out, in his learned notes on pp. 43, 61 and 62, of his treatise, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*, Cincinnati, O. 1884, the similarity of Jewish Law to the ancient Roman, the French and the Prussian Law. *Vide also Jewish Encyclopædia*, New York and London : Vol. VIII, p. 348

imposed upon her by the Talmud, is that a divorced woman is not permitted to remarry, or even to be betrothed (by 'erusin)²⁸ within three months after the date of divorce in order to make sure of the paternity of the child, with which she then may be pregnant. (Yeb., IV., 10; Yeb., 42a). On similar grounds a widow is prohibited from remarrying before the lapse of three months. The Rabbis further hold: "A widow or a divorced woman, being *enceinte*, is not permitted to remarry until after her delivery, provided also that if one or the other had a suckling, she was not allowed to remarry till the lapse of 24 months after the birth of that child (Yeb., 42a; Yad, *Gerushim*, XI, 25; Eben Ha'ezer XIII, 3.11).

Old Woman.

If one looks into the classic, mediæval and oriental codes of laws, he will find to his great surprise a sick man, or an old woman, or a cat, or some other animal held up, as boding ill-luck or an evil omen, by people meeting them on first going out in the early morn, or on returning from Church after a wedding. It is ominous to a Cornish miner who turns away in horror when he meets an old woman or a rabbit on his way to the pit's mouth (Tyler, *Primitive Culture*, Vol. I., p. 109). Thus in barbarous states a woman, in her declining age, came to be lowered in esteem. In Spain all women were deemed as useless factors in domestic circles—merely as unbearable burdens on the master of the house. There goes among them the expression: "An old woman serves neither the pot nor the lid." "An old mother in the house is a fence thereof" (H. Ploss, *Das Weib in der Natur-und Völkerkunde*, 3rd Aufl. Leipzig, 1891, II. Bd. 555). Despite the gloomy colours in which the preacher pictures advanced age (Eccles. XIII. 1-5), old age was deemed, by the Hebrews, sacred for various reasons among which, infirmities, filial sentiments, love for humanity, fear of God and mature experience of worldly life appealed to them. It may be said that for reverential regard for the aged (Lev. 19. 732) many of the civilised nations of antiquity equalled the Hebrews (Deut. 28.50). "A hoary head is a crown of glory which is gained by a righteous life" sounds the note in the Wisdom Literature of the Jews (Prov. 16.31). It probably asserts

²⁸ A ceremony which is the very initiation of marriage and carries with it almost all the legal consequences of marriage.

that old age is the reward of right doing and it is righteousness or wisdom that bestows long life. Even so pessimist a thinker, as Job, ascribes to old age discretion, wisdom and experience (Cf. Job. 12. 2; and 30. 7). The Talmud also highly esteems the presence of an old woman in the house; for one of its proverbs says: "An old man in the house is a snare (an obstacle) in the house; an old woman in the house is a treasure in the house ('Erac., 19a)." An old man is more peevish and helpless than an old woman, or as the general proverb goes, "An old man is a bed of bones". The old women can render service by performing easy work in the house. If they be too feeble, they can at least guard the house and have surveillance over the children. Not so the old men who are not accustomed to work of this kind. In the face of such distinction the Talmud, in view of the Mosaic precept "*Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head* (Lev. XIX. 32)," exhorts the young to reverence the aged, though they be broken in mind through physical weakness, even as the fragments of the broken tablets of the Decalogue, which were deemed worthy of being preserved, along with the whole tables of stone, in the Ark (Ber., 8b)."

PARSI VICEROY AND GOVERNORS OF KATHIAWAR.

(By SHAPURJI KAVASJI HODIVALA, B.A.)

The Kisseh-i-Sanjān, written in about 1600 A.D., is responsible to some extent for the wrong belief, that the Parsis first came to India sometime after the conquest of Persia by the Arabs. It is true that about the end of the seventh century A.D., some Parsi refugees arrived in Kathiawar and landed at Sanjan in about 716 A.D. But it is indisputable that the Parsis lived in the Punjab and northern India, and on the western coast in far older times.

It is a historical fact, which is well known, that in 510 B.C. Darius invaded India, and for the period of about 150 years from that date the Punjab was under the rule of the Parsis. In the Sanskrit drama, *Mudrārākshasa* (written in about the 8th century A.D.), it is stated that the Parsis, among others, helped Candragupta, the founder of the Mauryan dynasty (320 to 290 B.C.) in his invasion of northern India. It seems also very likely that Parsi architects had a hand in the erection of the Mauryan palaces at Pataliputra, after the style of the Persian halls at Persepolis, as we gather from the researches of the late Dr. Spooner.

Persian influence on Asoka's inscriptions.

The emperor Asoka, the grandson of Candragupta, drawing his inspiration from the Achæmenian inscriptions, caused several inscriptions to be put up in different parts of his vast empire. At the foot of the mountain Girnar in Kathiawar, there was a large town named Giri Nagari. We are inclined to believe, that in this town several Parsis lived in the time of Asoka ; for, on a close comparison of the inscriptions of Asoka with the Achæmenian inscriptions, we find that the inscriptions at Girnar (and also at Shahbazgari in the north of India) contain old Persian words freely inserted into the Pali text. We shall give a few instances :—

- (1) In the rock edict VI at Girnar, we have the word कंमतर which is Avesta *kamnatarā* = less, Persian کمتر . Behistun inscription I-13, *kamnaibish* (instr. form)

- (2) In the Girnar rock inscription IX, there is a word एतम्ही (“in this”) which is exactly the Avestan *aetamhi*. Here *h* shows the Iranian influence.
- (3) In the Girnar rock inscription VI, we have इध (“here,” “in this word”). This is exactly the Avestan *idha* the Sanskrit form being इह.
- (4) In the same inscription, Asoka says in Pali, “*ta mayā evam katam*,” (“so it was done by me”). This is almost the same as in Darius’ inscription IV. 8, *im tya mana kratam* (“this is that which I did”).
- (5) In the Shahbazgari inscription XIII we read ध्रमदिपि—in the inscriptions at other places the reading is धम्मलिपि. Now in Sanskrit लिपि means “writing,” but दीपिका means “light,” “torch”, which is quite a different word. In the Behistun inscription IV. 8, there is the word *dipi*, meaning “writing.” Further we read in Pali अयि (ध्रम)दिपि निपिस्त which is almost exactly parallel to Behistun IV. 8, *imām dipim nipishṭa* (“this writing is written”). The word *nipishṭa* is clearly Iranian.

Persian Viceroy Tushāspa.

The kingdom of the great emperor Asoka spread from Persia to Burma and from Kashmir to Mysore. For good governance he appointed viceroys in different parts of his empire. These were mostly of the royal family, and only very rarely outsiders were appointed. *Tushāspa*, a Persian, who had received the title of Rājā, with which only Kumāras of the royal family were honoured, was such a viceroy of Kathiawar under Asoka, as we find from an inscription of Rudradāman (143-158 A. D.) on a bridge near Girnar at Junagaḍha. Therein it is stated that owing to a heavy storm and copious down-pour of rains, the lake Sudarshana at the foot of the mountain Girnar had a great portion of its embankment destroyed. It is said about this lake that :—

मौर्यस्य राज्ञः चंद्रगुप्तस्य राष्ट्रियेण वैश्येन पुष्यगुप्तेन कारितम्
अशोकस्य मौर्यस्य ते(न) यवनराजेन तुषास्तेनाधिष्ठाय प्रनालीभिः अलं
तत्कारितया च राजानुरूपकृतविधानया

"The Vaishya Pushyagupta, the brother-in-law of the Mauryan King Candragupta, had caused (it) to be constructed. It had been adorned with conduits under the superintendence of that Yavana rājā Tushāspa of the Maurya, Asoka, with the conduits made by him and the construction of which was worthy of a King

It may be noted here that in later times the word *yavana* came to mean a "foreigner" generally (See E. J. Rapson's "Ancient India," p. 86). Further the very name *Tushāspa* is Persian.

In his book named "Asoka," Mr. R. Mookerji says :—"The viceroyalties were generally reserved for the princes called Kumāras and Āryaputras. . . . Sometimes we find local chiefs appointed as viceroys. Thus Pushyagupta the Vaiśya was Candragupta's viceroy (*rāshtriya*) of the western provinces with Girnar as headquarters, which under Asoka came under another viceroy named Rājā Tushaspa, the Persian." (p. 51).

Parsi Governor of Girnar.

Continuing the story of the destruction of the embankment of the lake Sudarśana, the inscription states that several engineers, ministers and others lost heart on account of the enormous gap, but that (पल्ह्वेन कुलैपपुत्रेण अमात्येन सुविशाखेन..... अनुष्ठितम्) "the work was carried out by the minister Suvishākha, son of Kulaipa, a Pahlava." Further up one of his attributes is स्वधितिष्ठता ("one who governs well"). So far back as 1862 A.D. Dr. Bhau Daji pointed out that *Suvishākha* was a Sanskrit adaptation of the Persian name Siyavakhsha, and that he was a governor of Ānarta and Saurashṭra (Kathiawar). (See B. B. R. A. S. Journal, Vol. II., p. 114. Also Bom. Gaz. Vol. XIII, part I, p. 443 ; part II, p. 414).

Persian sway in the Punjab.

To trace the events chronologically, we briefly refer here to the Persian province of the Punjab under the Emperor Mithridates I in about 138 B. C., and subsequently. In course of time the hold of the Persian empire slackened, and one of the chiefs, Moa, or Moga, became independent in the Punjab. Afterwards Azes established a dynasty at Taxila in 90 B.C. Azes was succeeded by his

son Azilises or Ayilisha ("Airisha") in 40 B.C. Then came the great Gondophares ("Gadman-Farra" or "Hvarena") who ruled from 20 A.D. to 60 A.D. His authority extended over Arachosia Seistan and the valley of the lower Indus. Lastly came Abdagases. In the latter part of the 1st century A.D., the author of the *Periplus* found the valley of the lower Indus under the rule of the Parthian chiefs.

Two more Parsi Governors of Kathiawar.

Prof. Jarle Charpentier of the Upsala University wrote a short paper on "Two Indian Names" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* of October 1928, in which he stated that Parnādatta, mentioned in a Sanskrit inscription of Girnar mountain at Junagadh (dated 455, 456 A. D.), was a governor of Junagadh in the time of the emperor Skandagupta. That inscription glorified the deeds of Parnādatta and his son Cakrapālita (See Dr. J. F. Fleet's *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III. pp. 56-65). It is stated therein that once again the lake Sudarsāna gave trouble owing to breaches in its embankments consequent upon heavy rains. Prof. Charpentier's researches have led him to the conclusion that Parnādatta could not be a Hindu name. He says:—

"The names beginning with Parna are few and far between. Hilka knows only this name Parnādatta, but in the *St. Petersburg Dictionary* there are besides at least Parnavalka, meaning 'possessing a garb of leaves', and Parnāda a very apt name of an old sage, who subsisted on the meagre fare of leaves. But Parnādatta suggests absolutely nothing in the way of a suitable meaning. Because of this I should venture to suggest that Parnādatta is simply an Indianization of an Iranian name Farnadāta, which would of course represent an old Iranian Xvarenodāta 'created by majesty,' a name of the same type as Ahuradāta, Mithridates, etc. If such a suggestion be probable—and I can scarcely see why not—it would at least tell us that the Governor of Kathiawar, about 450 A.D., by name Parnādatta was in reality an Iranian who served under the Indian monarch Skandagupta."

Now in the said inscription it is further stated that by the recommendation of Parnādatta, his son Cakrapālita succeeded him

as the governor of Kathiawar. It was this Cakrapālita, who undergoing considerable trouble, became successful in repairing the lake. It is easy to see that the first part of the name Chakrapālita may be *chakhra* in Avesta, meaning 'the wheel or wheel of sovereignty' (Cf. Yasht 13, 89; 10, 76), and *pālita* may be another form of *pāta*, 'protected', as in the name Ādar-pāta. Therefore Cakrapālita may well be an Indian form of the Persian name. But the latter portion of Dr. Fleet's translation of the inscription leads one to suspect, that the said Cakrapālita might *not* be a Zoroastrian; for it is stated that Cakrapālita was a worshipper of Govind and had built a temple for the deity. So far as the temple is concerned, it might be that Chakrapālita rendered his services as an engineer or that he paid money for the construction. It does not follow that he was a Hindu, if he did these acts. As to Cakrapālita being a worshipper of Govind, the fact is very doubtful. Important names and words have been effaced from the inscription on account of natural causes. It is highly probable that the name effaced was that of Skandagupta's son—not Farnadatta's son, as appears from Dr. Fleet's rendering. In that case, all suspicion about the religious belief of Cakrapālita disappears.

Parsis in large numbers in Kathiawar.

We have seen that in the middle of the 5th century A.D., a Parsi and his son had become governors of Kathiawar. It is but fair to assume that the selection must have been made from the best of the Parsis, who must have been residing in large numbers on the western coast of India. That assumption is somewhat corroborated by the evidence, which has come down to us, which we briefly summarize here.

In the Raghu-varṇśa (IV.61ff) the well known poet Kālidāsa (who is supposed to have lived in the 6th century A.D.) says about Raghu, the great grandfather of Rāma that

पारसीकांस्ततो जेतुं प्रतस्थे स्थलवर्त्मना

"Thence he set out by an inland route to conquer the Parsis." Further up it is stated that यवनीमुखपद्मानो सेहे मधुमदं न सः । "He could not bear (to see) the colour (produced) by wine on the lotus-like faces of the foreign women".

Further *संग्रामस्तुमुलस्तस्य पाश्चात्यैरश्वसाधनैः* : “a tumultuous battle took place between him and the westerns, who had a cavalry as their army”.

Further *भक्षपवर्जितैस्तेषां शिरेभिः स्मश्रुलैर्महीम् तस्तार* . “He covered the earth with their bearded heads severed by his Bhalla arrows.”

We thus see that a battle was fought with the Parsis, who had put on beards and had women with pretty faces, which became reddish when they drank wines. Much ingenuity has been spent to identify this event, which scholars thought was contemporaneous with the life-time of Kālidāsa. Prof. Pathak thought that this was the conquest of the King Yaśodharman (A.D. 490-550) into Kathiawar. Mr. Manmohandas Chakravati identified the event with the conquest of Skandagupta in the reign of the Persian King Piruz (A.D. 457-484). The White Huns helped Piruz against his brother in securing the throne of Persia, but afterwards he fought with them and was killed in the battle. The White Huns overran the territories of the Persians, which included the frontier of India. Dr. Hoernle rejects this theory, because Piruz had lost only Gandhar, and not the country on the direct frontiers. According to him the Persian King was Kobad, who with the help of the Huns removed his brother Jamaspa from the throne (A.D. 499). The Huns fought with the Indian King Yaśodharman. They were assisted by Kobad, who lost Sindh and some eastern provinces. This is the loss referred to by Kālidāsa, when he speaks of the defeat of the Pārasikas.

Our opinion is that this was a conquest of Ānarta and Saurāshtra (i.e. Kathiawar), a Parsi colony on the western coast of India. After the conquest of Ceylon, Raghu proceeded to fight with the Parsis of Kathiawar. Water would be a shorter route, but he preferred to go by land. In a previous verse *अपरान्तमहीपालाः* : (western chiefs) have been referred to as paying tributes. In one of the verses quoted above, the Parsis are referred to as *पाश्चात्याः* : (western people). Evidently the Pāścātyās and the Aparāntas were the people residing on the western coast of India.

Evidence of a Prākṛit poem.

We come across much better evidence elsewhere. Rao Bahadur Shankar Pandurang Pandit edited a Prākṛit work named *Gaudavaho* (Sk. गौडवधः) "Slaughter of the king of northern Bengal"). This poem was written by Vākpati in praise of the King Yaśovarmā of Kanoj (about 695 A.D.). One Haripāla has rendered it into Sanskrit with notes. It is stated in that poem that after the rains, Yaśovarmā went to the Vindhya mountain. He fought with the Gauḍa king, and afterwards with the King of Bengal. Then he proceeded to the Sahyādri mountains. Afterwards he went to conquer the country of Vāli, the great Monkey Emperor on the western coast. Subsequently he fought with the Parsis, and slaughtered them. Then he proceeded to the banks of the Narmadā and thence to Mārwar. This is sufficient to prove that the Parsis lived on the south of the Narmadā in large numbers at the end of the 7th century A.D. The description of the great battle with the Parsis is given in the verses 431-439 of the book. The last verse runs thus :—

इय से जयपेरन्तो पुहईवइणो परिक्खय-पहाणो
तुमुलो महाहवो आसि चिरयरं पारसीएहिम् ॥

[Sanskrit इति तस्य जयपर्यन्तः पृथिवीपतेः परिक्षयप्रधान-
स्तुमुलो महाहव आसीच्चिरतरं पारसीकैः सह ॥]

Translation.—"Thus for a long time the emperor of the world (Yaśovarmā) made a great, tumultuous and hard-fought battle with the Parsis until he became victorious."

Rao Bahadur Pandit states that "the Pārasikas occupying some part of Kathiawar or Sind, were conquered by Yaśovarmā. When the blood ran to their faces, it appeared blue (Intro. p. 104).

On p. 27 Pandit says :—"Yaśovarmā then marches upon the Pārasikas and conquers them after a very long and hard-fought battle, in which many of his enemies were slain."

It appears from the facts stated above that the Parsis had established a small kingdom, or were, at any rate, a very powerful race on the western coast of India. It is not surprising, therefore, that after the Arab conquest of Persia, bands of Parsi refugees turned their attention to proceed to India.

One point more. There is a rock inscription at Prahladpur, a village near Dhānāpur on the Ganges, which is noted by Dr. Fleet in his *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. III, p. 250. Therein we find a reference to पार्थिवानिकपाल : “protector of the army of Pārthivas.” Dr. Fleet and Dr. Oldhosen are agreed that these people were the descendants of the Parthians or Persians residing in northern India. They were probably the descendants of the Persians, who had fought for Candragupta in the 4th century
B C

SOCIAL LIFE IN 1804 & 1929 AMONGST MUSLIMS IN BOMBAY.

BY F. B. TYABJI.

FACTS relating to social life are shy and unobtruding; and unless one has opportunely collected and stored in memory a fact here and a hint there from the most unlooked for sources of information, there is little chance of gathering materials for an informing paper on the conditions of social life in 1804 and 1929, in the course of a few weeks of hectic search. I have therefore acceded to the request of contributing this paper (however grateful the compliment may be) with great diffidence, and in the hope that the efforts of others may make up for my deficiencies.

Social life is an expression to which we are able to assign a sufficiently clear meaning in our days, even though we may not be able to attain the accuracy demanded by mathematicians. Such divisions of human activities, however, as social and political, are, in a sense, foreign to societies having an origin such as that of the Mussulmans; or perhaps I shall express myself more correctly if I say that considerations affecting such different aspects of human activity have all a common foundation under Islam. Islam is a religion which purports—and perhaps all ancient religions are alike in this respect—to guide all human activity and all human aspirations. It originated as an emphatic protest against—as a revulsion from—Arab life about the beginning of the 7th century of the Christian era. Its attack was directed in three main directions: against the grossly superstitious idolatry of the Arabs, against their utter failure to concede any rights to women, orphans, and the weak in general, and against the unsatisfactory family life of the Arabs.

Modern notions would admit idolatry alone within the province of religion; rights of women and orphans are matters which, whether because they have been acquiring greater importance under the evolution of society, or becoming more specialized, are considered and decided upon by persons who may have no authority or power to deal with religious questions. It is not, however, denied

that all phases of human activity act and react upon themselves. The reforms effected by Islam would have been impossible without an attempt to reform the life of the Arabs in social matters; those reforms comprehended a transformation of the entire life and ideals of the proselytes.

The result of this common origin for most of the institutions of the Muslims in their present forms, has been that their social life is inextricably joined to the religious tenets of Islam; and the position of women, the proper sphere of their activities, their political rights, the education they should have, the functions that must be fulfilled by them in the family, all fall within the exposition of Islamic law and rules of conduct.

Attention may, therefore, be well given in this paper to the position and activities of women, before any other subject is touched.

The question of the emancipation of women has been much before our minds recently, not only in the form in which it has shaken the foundations of society in England, with the demands formulated by women themselves, and the new situations created by the activities of women in the great war, but by the spectacular and tragic events in Turkey and Afghanistan. It cannot be overlooked that if King Amanullah's reign had not come to such an untimely end, the advancement and emancipation of women would have had a great and lasting impetus amongst Muslims in India as well as other parts of the world.

Moreover, Bombay has been the origin of the movement for making women give up the pardah, and for bringing them out into the world, so that they may take their full share in human activities—human pleasures, as well as human responsibilities. Bombay's pre-eminence in this respect is well recognized, though within the last few years several other towns in India, for instance Lahore in the North, and Hyderabad in the Deccan, have become centres of emancipation for Muslim women; and it may be that Bombay may have to learn not a little from such centres.

In any case we may say that in Bombay no man who wishes the ladies of his family to come out of strict pardah will meet with any insuperable difficulties, or will have to face a current of public opinion disapproving such advanced action, except possibly from the narrow circles of his own immediate surroundings.

If we turn to 1804 we shall find Bombay still a very undeveloped town, but with large possibilities, attracting to itself an influx of enterprising traders from all directions, even from the West, on which side it is bounded by the sea. Confining ourselves to Muslims, we find the Khojas, the Memons, the Bohras, the Konkani Mussulmans, Arab and Persian traders, all streaming towards Bombay, many content to make it their permanent home, others making it merely a stepping stone for striding away into still more distant parts, as Zanzibar or Johannesburg, Singapore, Shanghai, Hongkong or Kobe. The early history of any leading and enterprising Mussulman family now established in Bombay will unfold to our sight the figure of an adventurous pioneer emigrating to Bombay, or occasionally a family or larger group shifting together, so as to take up a position on the crest of the rising tide. The result on the new society that was being formed is intensely interesting. Each family contains within itself all the vicissitudes that give life to a romance.

I will confine myself below to such facts as are known from my personal knowledge. This might occasionally make my statements appear too intimate; but if that will tend to narrow the outlook, I hope a greater reality and accuracy will be sufficient recompense.

Such a migratory movement, as I have mentioned, may obviously help an emancipation from the trammels and the traditions of the original environment; and it may seem that a loosening of the religious ties may result. Actual events, however show that while a greater degree of liberty is attained by being to some extent isolated and free from the pressure of long-continued customs, observed by the whole surrounding society with religious scrupulosity, yet, on the other hand, the inherent religious cravings of the human mind obtain a fresh impetus in new surroundings. Many of those who had left their homes with no other purpose but to make their fortunes, have felt in new environments a call of a more spiritual nature. The hold that Islam had exercised over their minds, thus became not less, but more firm, while it was sublimated by a higher sense of individual responsibility; the necessity for thinking out the great problems of life for themselves became more urgent as the usual substitutes for it were removed. It is accordingly found that the Mussulmans who had migrated to

Bombay, began to feel, as others have felt, on finding that they must be guides unto themselves : that they must serve religion more strictly than when they were lulled to security, and had perhaps a less acute sense of personal responsibility.

The material results of such stirrings of inquietude are the cases in the law Courts which have resulted in, or were preceded by, religious upheavals, such as those which split up the Khojas into the followers of the Aga Khan, the Ithna Asharis and the Sunni Khojas. Similarly a branch of the Memons who were content so long to be governed by the Hindu family law have now provided themselves with legislation which enables them to bring themselves under the rule of the Islamic law of succession. Testimony is also borne by the fact that the Quran and its commentaries and the traditions are now read not only by those members of these communities who consider themselves specially devoted to research in religion. The sacred books of Islam have now been translated into Gujarati and other vernaculars, and the Khojas no more confine themselves to their later religious books which had their origin in India, and which had till the 'eighties stood for them as their sacred scripture.

The attitude of the Khoja community towards pardah furnishes an extremely interesting illustration of the point immediately under consideration. Just as the Khojas had stopped short of adopting the Islamic law of succession and continued to be governed in many respects by the Hindu law, so they had not adopted pardah, and the ladies of the best Khoja families used to be seen walking about Warden Road at a time when pardah had not been renounced openly by the other Muslim communities. When the awakening to Islam amongst the Khojas which has just been referred to came, many Khoja ladies considered it improper not to observe pardah.

At the same time my father, Badruddin Tyabji, was strenuously trying to induce Mussulmans to recognise that pardah was not a part of Islam, and that Mussulmans could not expect to advance on modern lines, until the women gave up this retarding custom. My father had taken up this attitude from the time, when, in 1867, he had returned from England, after having been called to the Bar : the first Indian Barrister on our side of India, and the second

by a few months in all India. He had few supporters in his views ; he had to contend not only against the very orthodox who threatened to excommunicate all who failed to acknowledge pardah as a part of religion. Even the liberal-minded members of the community contemplated with dismay the results of allowing women to move about with anything approaching the freedom that European women were allowed even in those days. However, by the 'eighties my father had a small number of followers, but none that did not belong to his own family. It was only in 1904 that my father threw out a public challenge to the pardah system. Then in his Presidential address at the All India Muslim Educational Conference he declared that Islam, as a religion, did not require the observation of any such seclusion on the part of women as was observed in our times in India. This declaration was vehemently attacked ; and those who were permanently associated with the Muslim Educational Conference repudiated on the part of the Conference any participation in these views, which they courteously said were those of the President and not of the Conference.

During the 'sixties, 'seventies and 'eighties, therefore, though my father's views were well known, there was no Muslim family that, while professing strict Islam, declared itself free from the restrictions of pardah. I remember amusing effects of this condition of affairs. My mother would say that the ladies of the leading Khoja families complained to her that the gentlemen insisted upon the ladies adopting pardah because they saw ladies of the Tyabji family observing it—even though in a much less strict manner than the majority of the Muslims. My father would complain that, in this manner, his family, instead of showing the way towards the advancement which he had so much at heart, was actually becoming responsible for a retrogressive movement. He would, therefore, urge my mother to be bolder in facing the opposition against the new movement. But with all his efforts the progress was slow. He had good allies in the late Mr. Abdulla Dharamsi and the first Sir Currimbhai Ebrahim. But these were Khojas. The other Mussulmans were bitterly opposed to him. Even Sir Syed Ahmed Khan did not share these views, any more than he shared my father's views about the line that Mussulmans should take up in politics.

Progress was found most practicable by my father if pardah was relaxed wherever its inconvenience began to be felt. It being assumed that women must, in the natural course of events, be better brought up than heretofore, better instructed and educated, and better cared for, since pardah interfered with their obtaining teachers, it was to be slackened : it was not to prevent women obtaining medical advice, but men doctors were to be called in : it was not to come in the way of their taking exercise or breathing fresh air : it was not to be insisted upon on occasions when such insistence indicated a low opinion of womanhood and betrayed a fear that liberty must necessarily lead to licence.

Probably one reason for the slowness of progress lay in the fact that in such matters we have to reckon not by years, but by generations. It was only when a generation of women grew up which had inbibed these feelings and aspirations from childhood, and which did not feel weighed down by early associations and sentiments that these ideas could operate in full force.

It is interesting to remark here that Parsi women had also become saddled with the pardah by the beginning of the last century. They, however, threw it off much more rapidly than the Muslims ; and our apparent progress was so slow that our Parsi friends often doubted the sincerity of Muslim effort for the emancipation of women, and expressed their doubts to us half humorously, half in earnest. The main reason for slow progress in this respect amongst Muslims is their religious associations. These were absent amongst the Parsis. But it would be wrong not to express admiration at the courage and devotion to progress displayed by the Parsi families (notably the family of Mr. Manekji Cursetji) who were the pioneers of reform in this matter. Their example and advice was a source of great encouragement to the Muslims. Indeed the first public defiance of pardah was bidden by Lady Hydari (Née Miss Najmuddin Tyabji) only about 30 years ago, at an at home held at the late Mr. Jamsetji Tata's house.

The Parsis were, of course, not the only non-Muslim community who gave such assistance to the movement for the emancipation of women. My memory does not go back earlier, but the names of Lady Reay (while Lord Reay was Governor of Bombay, and afterwards) with her able and charming coadjutrix, Lady Scott

(wife of Sir John Scott who was a Judge of the High Court of Bombay and afterwards Legal Adviser at Cairo and Judge Advocate-General at the India House, long before the late Chief Justice Sir Basil Scott became Advocate-General of Bombay), of Miss Manning, Mrs. and Miss Fawcett, and many others—especially those who founded the Bombay Ladies' Branch of the National Indian Association—are connected with many little unremembered acts of kindness and of love, by which guidance and support was given to the first efforts of Muslim ladies to move out of their homes, and take an interest in the "things that in the great world be." These ladies not only entertained Muslim girls at parties, but literally took them by the hand: they acted as companions and guides in shopping, and as sisterly advisers about dressmaking difficulties. Occasionally, a full day's hospitality would serve as an introduction to the intimacies of English homes, and the social ideas in which English ladies were brought up.

It is impossible to contemplate the changes in the activities and aspirations of women which have been indicated, and to fail to see that men must have changed even more drastically than women. For all these changes were brought about not only with the consent of the men, but at their earnest entreaties.

Some of the paintings of early Bombay, that are hung in the galleries of the Prince of Wales Museum in Bombay vividly show how completely the surface of the City of Bombay has altered since 1804. The costumes of the men who are represented, their methods of doing business, palanquins as means of locomotion, all seem to take us to a world altogether different from that in which we move. We must think of the Muslim society in Bombay in 1804 as consisting mainly of groups of traders, the Khojas, the Memons, the Bohras, the Arabs and Moguls—all living in this growing City more like sojourners than as permanent residents, all forming little coteries and cliques of their own and discouraging outside influence on themselves. Each group had as a rule its own residential locality, 'mohalla', where there were small and crowded shops, with living apartments above or behind the rooms in which business was being carried on. The women were confined to their own apartments, absorbed in household duties, in complete contrast to the advanced ladies of 1929, who belong to clubs and gymkhanas,

who work on committees with men, or without men, who take part in Conferences where women from all parts of India congregate, who organise charitable entertainments and fancy fêtes, who supervise the working of educational institutions and charitable homes, who lead processions or preside over political movements.

By about the middle of the last century a change in the gregarious habits above referred to becomes noticeable. A great number of Muslim (and other Indian) merchants had by then acquired properties on the outskirts of old Bombay, often with bungalows which the European sojourners had originally built for themselves. The two "hills" of Bombay were sparsely dotted over with such bungalows, many of them built by Europeans, and sold when their owners left the shores of India. Before we reach the 'eighties, we find that most of the bungalows had passed to the ownership of Indians; but more often than not the bungalows continued to be occupied on rent by Europeans. The Indian owner looked upon these houses as places where on retirement he might pass a few years of rest and quiet, not thinking it possible from these "suburbs" to be engaged in the active pursuits of business. Nor will this feeling appear strange when it is remembered that before the days of the motor it was necessary to drive for 35 or 40 minutes before a person living on the "hills" could get to "town."

But a change in this respect also came at least 20 years before motors took the place of horse carriages, and now it seems strange to think that the chief residential houses on Malabar and Cumballa Hill should have been owned by Europeans, or occupied, not by their owners, but by tenants. In the early days each house was surrounded by spacious grounds, and many persons must still remember the grievance that was felt on each sub-division of the grounds surrounding the bungalows, "compounds" as they used to be called—a word that is now going out of use, but is an interesting relic of the Portuguese in Bombay.

Bombay at the present day is not undistinguished in regard to its achievements on the race-course and the cricket field. Cricket, tennis and golf have all come into vogue during the last third of the 19th century. Till about 50 years ago many school-children were ignorant of the name of cricket, and tennis and golf both came much later. Open spaces were not so scarce in those days as

now, and it was no uncommon sight to see the old Indian games of *ata-pata*, *gilli-danda*, and above all kite flying, patronized with great enthusiasm.

The history of the European sports, so far as Bombay Mussulmans are concerned, can probably be completely covered if we go to the Islam Gymkhana, and trace its origin back to a small but notable club, known as the Islam Cricket Club, whose heroes were Sir Ibrahim Rahimtulla, Ali, Shuffi and Hadi Tyabji. These names were of frequent occurrence in the accounts of sport till not so very long ago. Tennis was first played amongst the Mussulmans in Bombay at my father's house. This was in 1887.

Riders can no more be seen on the Kennedy Sea Face as they used to be seen 40 years ago. The Oval too used to be full of riders; and there was even a Rotten Row of Bombay.

About the race course I must admit to great ignorance; but I remember the days when children were driven in phaetons which stood round the race-course, and from which the races could be watched.

In the pursuit of all these activities, in the old days, the costumes of all the Indian inhabitants of Bombay, Muslims as well as others, were much more heterogeneous than the increasing adoption of the European style permits in our days. Redoubtable Parsi Cricket players used to play in their long shirts known as *sadras*. Riders could be seen in all kinds of costumes, and it was generally easy to tell from his dress to what particular community any strange visitor belonged. A new movement towards our own ways of dressing is now perceptible as the result of the encouragement of home industries.

The change in the formal education which is given to the young, is, it is needless to say, as marked as the change in the costumes, habits and general outlook of the adults. In the early years of the last century the children of Muslims would start in their educational career by being taught to read the Quran in Arabic. This instruction would be given either by the parents or a grown up sister or brother, or if no member or connection of the family was available, by a salaried teacher. Schools were naturally more often available for boys than girls. At a very early age, children of both sexes might be instructed together. It was, however, considered

improper, amongst the more strict-minded people, for girls over 10 or 11 years to play with boys or even to sit together with boys for lessons. When Municipal and similar schools came into being, the Quran class was still the first division in which children were placed. Some children may join the school after having read the Quran at home. In the case of very few indeed would the teaching of Urdu or other language be given precedence in point of time to the "Khatam" (one complete reading) of the Quran. This course, no doubt, prevented an intelligent interest being evinced in religious or quasi-religious instruction at the start; and in the case of some the early associations of the study of the Quran under unsympathetic teachers, or in uncongenial conditions might cause a lasting distaste for religious studies. Others, who more happily escaped from such unpleasant associations, benefited by the sense of reverence being early awakened and formed into an instinct, before the shades of the prison house had begun to close upon the growing boy or girl.

The education of girls ceased at a very early age, as they were soon made to observe *pardah*, and there were few arrangements in early days for education within the *pardah*, though there did occasionally arise women who were themselves fond of learning, and had, long beyond the usual school-going age, continued their own education, either teaching themselves, or getting the chance assistance of those who were more favoured in regard to sex or opportunities. Such women occasionally formed little centres of culture for girls and women; they might even practise the profession of teachers, going from house to house to impart knowledge to girls or young women who would otherwise have considered their literary education completed. But except for such fortunate means of prolonging education, girls were at a very early age required to attend to household duties, and marriage generally followed at the age of 12 to 15. In any case the course of formal education was definite and rigid. Reading, writing and arithmetic were taught. Most boys and girls learnt arithmetic on the Gujarati system, which is admirable, but which may not suit minds less mathematical than of the people amongst whom the system has been evolved. Under this system the multiplication tables were taught not only up to 12, or 16, but up to 40 or a larger integral figure, and the multiplication tables of fractions, and of integers and fractions

added together, had also to be learnt by heart. I shall hurry away from the glimpse of terror that these particulars call up.

When the University was started, education, considered as a luxury, was given a more definite goal than before. The Mussulmans in Bombay were mainly drawn from classes who for generations had been in trade, whose eye was always to business, to whom education meant preparation for being able to conduct their business with greater alacrity and efficiency. He that urged the wealthy Mussulmans to educate their children had to contend with a stock question: "Why, Badruddin Sahib, should I send my son to school? I have much wealth and my son need not work for his living."

Gradually, however, the idea gained ground that education may open new vistas in the prospects of life, which did not lead to the production of wealth, but which still provided "common pleasures, to walk abroad and recreate yourselves." Far-sighted persons were not absent from amongst the Muslims to recognize the advantage even of sending out young men to England for getting qualified for the learned professions. Bombay can make the proud claim of having sent out the first Indian to be educated in England. An interesting relic of this is furnished by the following excerpts:

"*Morning Advertiser*, Friday, November 26th 1858:—

"Court of Queen's Bench, November 25th: (Sittings in Banco, at Westminster, before the Lord Chief Justice Campbell, Mr. Justice Wightman, and Mr. Justice Erle.)

"The novel and interesting incident of swearing in a Mahomedan as an English attorney took place in this Court, where Comroodeen Tyabjee, a young gentleman who having a turn for British law and who had fully served his articles to an attorney and passed his examination, presented himself to go through the necessary process. As some difficulty arose as to the oaths to be taken, Mr. Justice Crompton (who presided in the Bail Court) referred the applicant to the Full Court." The difficulty was that originally the oaths were meant only for Christians; a special Act of Parliament had provided for Jews taking the oaths, but no case had arisen when a non-Christian, other than a Jew, had presented himself for taking the oath.

The application aroused the interest of *Punch*, which referred to it in its issue of the 4th of Dec. 1858 under the heading "March

of Rationality," and stated the result of the incident with a succinctness that is only equalled by the other quality for which that journal is best known: "We are happy to add that the enlightened decision of Lord Campbell and his brethren did away with the last fragment of the absurdity that affected to see a Christian in an attorney."

Those who are interested in the legal aspect of the matter will find a report of the case in the 28th Law Journal Reports, New Series, Queen's Bench, p. 22, where my uncle's name is spelt Cornroodan Tyabjee. I believe the other law reports are not so inaccurate.

There were no Indian Barristers till some eight or nine years after Mr. Cumruddin Tyabji was qualified as a solicitor. The first Indian Barrister was, I believe, Mr. Ghose from Bengal, and my father followed him within a short time as the first Indian from the Western Presidency and the first Mussulman in India. The first Muslim to enter the Indian Civil Service was also from Bombay,—Mohsin Badruddin Tyabji who came out in 1887. Similarly the first Muslims to enter the Public Works Department and the Finance Department, were all from Bombay, and closely related. They have all passed away except Sir Akbar Hydari, now Finance Minister of H. E. H. the Nizam's Dominions.

The number of Muslims who went to England for purposes of education has steadily increased, and in our days a large proportion of the Muslims who have entered the professions or risen to eminence in commerce or public life, have completed their education by a stay in Europe for some years.

As may be surmised, when young men spent a large number of their most impressionable years in Europe, they came back with altered views on most matters, and not the least on social subjects. Domestic ways and manners consequently changed a great deal during this century and a quarter, and the changes had the tendency to draw the different sects of Mussulmans nearer to each other. At the same time they discarded what was considered obnoxious to progress, though too often the good in what was old was sacrificed at the shrine of the rising sun: it must be admitted that the sun was seen to rise in the West.

The customs and ways relating to marriage have accordingly altered perhaps in every detail. A Mussulman is permitted by the letter of his religious law (with certain restrictions) to have four wives. The stringency of the restrictions has been the subject of much controversy. But the fact that it is most unusual to come across a Muslim now-a-days in India who has more wives than one, is due to causes which would be characterised as social rather than religious. Divorces seldom occur. Few Mussulmans would be led by **their** experience to express the view that the facility for divorce which Islam gives has been abused so as to cause a laxity of the marital tie. Many might say just the reverse. A timely divorce has saved many from worse evils. It seems too that in not a few cases the ready means of separation has induced a continuance of joint life, until such continuance has seemed not only tolerable but desirable.

The notion that persons may be married to each other, without ever having met or conversed, prior to marriage, has naturally been passing away with the passing away of the seclusion of women. Even amongst people who observe strict *pardah*, it is generally relaxed in the case of persons who contemplate marriage; and on this point the most bigoted cannot raise any religious objection, as this relaxation is universally admitted to have the most ancient authority in its favour.

The mode in which marriages are celebrated has been greatly simplified. The actual marriage ceremony necessary in Islam to make two persons husband and wife, is of the simplest nature, not differing from any civil contract, except that two worthy witnesses are required, and that there must be a *mahr*, which has been described as a gift from the husband to the wife, "imposed by the law on the husband," as the author of the *Hidaya* puts it, "as a token of respect for the woman." But the simple requirements of the law have been covered up with a great over-growth of custom. The marriage ceremony is usually performed by a person exercising religious authority, and it is lengthened out by prayers recited for the occasion. In addition to this, it is celebrated by much feasting and rejoicing. In the old days these celebrations would continue for several days before and after the marriage ceremony, even when the parties were only moderately

wealthy. Fireworks and illuminations and feasts were considered almost essential. In our times it is seldom that the celebration is spread over more than two days, one for each side, but recently it has become now more usual in Bombay for both sides to unite and hold one function where the relations and friends of both sides are invited and feasted.

With regard to the feasts and dinners amongst Muslims, it is interesting to note that there seem to be two main fashions of dining prevalent in India. One seems to be derived from the Arabs who spread out a carpet or cloth on the floor, and, in the centre of it, place a stand, between one and two feet high, on which a round tray (about 3 ft. or more in diameter) is placed. Round this tray, 6 or 8 guests can be seated; sitting in a circle on the floor, not on chairs. The food is placed in the centre of the tray, by attendants, whose duty it is to bring the dish and to place it on the tray, or occasionally to empty the dish in the tray. The diners then help themselves, and each other. The other mode of dining prevalent in India is apparently derived from the Moguls or Persians: the dishes are amongst them placed (not on a raised tray but) on the carpet itself in front of the diners who sit in rows, and not in circles. There too the diners sit on the floor on the carpet. The food is laid down in front of the guests,—ready laid before they are asked to sit down, though there are attendants whose duty it is to serve while dinner is proceeding. The main distinction between the two systems is that in the Arab way the diners are arranged in circles round raised trays (which are like low tables), and the food is brought and served to each group collectively; in the other system there is no raised tray and the service is more individualized. It is usual now-a-days to spread white, washable, cloth over the carpets, so that it may be changed more frequently.

The Arabic fashion of dining is more in vogue in Bombay than the Mogul. But during the last 45 years it has become increasingly common to place the tray on a table, and for the diners to sit on chairs (not on the floor) around the tray. Knives, forks and spoons have also become common.

In conclusion, it may be said that taking a general view of the trend of ways and manners during the last 125 years, it would be a fair summary to say that Bombay has moved towards greater

homogeneity amongst the chief groups or sects, that all have moved towards liberalization and, that all have shown greater and greater willingness to alter their ancient ways in the light thrown by the manners of the West, notably in regard to amusements, sports and outdoor exercises, that the most striking change is perceptible in the position and activities of women, not a few of whom look forward with confidence to a near future, when they will stand on a footing not only of equality, but of similarity, to men.

EDUCATION IN BOMBAY CITY

(1804 to 1929)

[By K. S. VAKIL.]

The establishment of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1804 marks the beginning of a long period of educational activity in Bombay city, with which are associated names of great British educationists and administrators like Mountstuart Elphinstone, Sir Erskine Perry, Sir Alexander Grant, and Sir Thomas Hope, and great Indian philanthropists like Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhai, Mr. Jagannath Shankarsheth, Sheth Gokuldas Tejpal, and Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit. The history of education in Bombay city during this period is the history of education not merely in this single city; it is essentially and very largely the history of growth and development of education in the whole of the Bombay Presidency.

The first school in Bombay city under the East India Company was the one established in 1718 by the Rev. Richard Cobbe, Chaplain of St. Thomas' Church (now Cathedral), with the object of "educating poor European children in the Christian religion according to the use of the Church of England".* This school was supported by voluntary subscriptions till, in 1807, the Company took it under its own control and allowed it a grant of Rs. 3,600 per annum. In 1815, however, the Company transferred it to the "Society for Promoting the Education of the Poor within the Government of Bombay" (afterwards known as the Bombay Education Society), which was founded in that year; the Company, on its own part, undertaking to continue its grant of Rs. 3,600 in addition to an annual grant of Rs. 1,680 already given by it to the Society. This Society included Indian children within the scope of its activities and had, by 1820, four schools for Indian children with 250 pupils under its management. In August, 1820, the Society appointed a special committee to prepare school books in the vernacular languages and to aid or establish vernacular schools.

* The Gazetteer of Bombay City and Island, Vol. III, pp. 99 and 100.

Within two years, however, the Society found that it had undertaken work, which went far beyond the original aim of its institution, and therefore decided to confine its efforts to the education of European and Eurasian children. The special committee appointed by it for the preparation of school books and for aiding or establishing schools, thereupon, formed itself into a separate body called "The Bombay Native School Book and School Society" (named the "Bombay Native Education Society" since 1827), with Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, as its first President.

The Bombay Native School Book and School Society, soon after its formation, appointed a special committee to examine the system of education prevailing in the province and to suggest measures for its improvement and extension. In 1823, this Committee reported as radical defects the want of books, method, teachers, and funds. It suggested the vernacular school books required and also rules and principles for the guidance of compilers and translators. It also recommended the training of six intelligent natives in the Lancastrian (monitorial) system of teaching and their appointment as superintendents of schools in certain districts with a view to the introduction therein of this system of teaching. On receiving this report, the Society resolved to extend the scope of its scheme of vernacular education and include in it provision of schools for the teaching of English, and applied to Government for larger financial assistance in furtherance of these proposals. This application was favourably received by Government, who, in March, 1824, communicated their approval of the Society's proposals, including that for the establishment of 'an English school at the Presidency where English may be taught classically and where instruction might also be given in that language on History, Geography, and the popular branches of Science'. A grant of Rs. 600 per month was made to the Society; the cost of compiling and printing the Society's school books was undertaken by the Government; and reports on the number and condition of indigenous vernacular schools throughout the Presidency were called for from the district officers. Thus encouraged by Government, the Society in July, 1824, opened a school with 46 pupils to teach the English language, accommodated it in a part of the house hired by it for its own meetings, and appointed one Robert Murphy, then a corporal in

the Artillery, as its Headmaster. In 1825, it purchased a site (that occupied till lately by the Elphinstone Middle School near the new Small Causes Court) and erected a spacious building thereon for the accommodation of its English school and central vernacular schools. In 1825, the Society sent out 24 trained teachers from its vernacular schools to take charge of primary schools which Government had begun to establish at its own expense in district towns in the Konkan, the Deccan, and Gujarat; and even opened an Engineering class with 36 natives and 14 European or Eurasian pupils under the superintendence of Captain Jarvis, one of its secretaries, with the object of "preparing a body of men to act under officers of Government in superintending surveys and buildings, and of providing for a more general diffusion of mathematical and physical knowledge, as well practical as mechanical, among the native subjects of this Presidency in their own vernacular dialects."

The Society's receipts between August 1st, 1825, and December 1st, 1826, amounted to over a lakh of rupees, more than half of which was contributed as donations and subscriptions by native gentlemen. The expenditure during this period amounted to Rs. 1,01,967, nearly Rs. 35,000 of which was for school buildings in Bombay and Rs. 16,000 for printing and publishing of school books.

Much of this progress in its work was due to the encouragement, which the Society received from its President, the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, who was an ardent advocate of higher as well as vernacular education in this Presidency. He had so endeared himself to the Indian community by his measures for the educational advancement of the people that, when he retired in 1827, a fund amounting to more than two lakhs of rupees was collected by the people to commemorate his educational services to the Presidency. At the meeting held in Bombay on August 28th, 1827, for this purpose, it was resolved that the fund collected should be invested in Government securities, "from the interest of which one or more Professorships (to be denominated the Elphinstone Professorships and to be held by gentlemen from Great Britain *until the happy period arrives when natives shall be perfectly competent to hold them*) might be established under the Bombay Native Education Society for teaching the English language and

the Arts, Science, and Literature of Europe." The fund was offered by the Society to Government, who in 1834 authorised the foundation of the Elphinstone College and expressed a hope that it would be instrumental in raising up a "class of persons qualified by their intelligence and morality for high employment in the civil administration of India." Mountstuart Elphinstone selected Dr. Harkness and Mr. Orlebar as its first professors, who arrived from England in 1835 and at the beginning of the following year, with Mr. Bal Gangadhar Shastri as assistant professor, delivered their first lectures in English Literature and Modern Science in the Town Hall. Government undertook the general superintendence of the College and to defray all expenditure in excess of the income derived from fees and the endowment fund, and entrusted its management to a council of 9 trustees, of whom 2 were to be nominated by Government and 4 to be Europeans approved by Government, while the rest were to be elected by the Society. The Society's Central English schools, which were the main feeders of the college, however, continued in their own building under the management of the Society. This difference in the management of the Elphinstone College and its feeders and in their location hampered the progress of the College, which had in 1838 only 3 pupils. In April, 1840, therefore, Government united the school and college classes into one institution, called the Elphinstone Institution, and placed it under the control of a newly constituted body, called the Board of Education, consisting of a President and 3 members appointed by Government and 3 by the Native Education Society. The English classes of the institution after the amalgamation contained 681 pupils, of whom 341 paid a monthly fee of one rupee.

Side by side with the Bombay Education Society and the Bombay Native Education Society, several European and American missionary societies had also commenced excellent pioneer work in education. The American Marathi Mission, which arrived in Bombay in 1813, opened in 1815 a Hindu boys' school—the first school conducted on western lines in the Presidency, and in 1824 the first girls' school. In 1825, it had 35 schools attended by 2,000 children under its management, and, in 1826, it showed an increase of 9 girls' schools with 340 pupils. In 1829, the number of girls in the Mission schools rose to 400, of whom 122 were able to read,

write, and cipher, and do plain needlework. In 1831, when the Mission transferred the centre of its activities from Bombay to Ahmednagar, it had 8 boys' schools and 13 girls' schools attended by 760 pupils under its management. The Church Missionary Society had also entered the field, and opened its first school in Bombay and begun the compilation of a series of moral class books in 1820. Two years later, the Society had opened 6 elementary schools with 120 pupils. In 1826, it opened its first school for native girls, and, in 1837, founded an Anglo-Vernacular school in memory of Robert Money, a former benefactor of the Society. The Scottish Missionary Society had also commenced work and opened, in 1829, 6 schools for native girls, the attendance in which soon rose to 200. In 1832, the Society under the late Rev. Dr. Wilson started a boys' school in which the Vernacular and English languages were taught and which gradually developed into the Wilson High School and the Wilson College.

The new Board of Education constituted in 1840 superseded the Native Education Society and took over control of the Elphinstone Institution and 7 Government Vernacular schools (with 661 pupils) in Bombay. It also assumed control of the Poona Sanskrit College, of the English schools at Poona, Thana, and Panwel, and of 85 Government Vernacular schools (with 4,424 pupils) in the mofussil.

In 1842, Government fixed its annual grant to the Board of Education at Rs. 1,45,000, including Rs. 22,000 for the Elphinstone Institution and Rs. 20,000 for the Poona Sanskrit College. In the same year, for the better control of education, the Board arranged its schools in three territorial divisions, the first consisting of the Deccan and Khandesh, the second of the Northern Konkan and Gujarat, and the third of the Southern Konkan and Southern Maratha Country. A European Inspector with a native assistant was placed in charge of each Division, and every English and Vernacular school was furnished with printed regulations relating to school management. The Board also established in many places English and Vernacular School Committees, composed of 3 or 4 persons of local influence. It further undertook to open a vernacular school in any village with a population of not less than 2,000, provided the people supplied a suitable house, rent free, for its accommodation and agreed to the levy of a monthly fee of anna one on each pupil except

in cases of well ascertained poverty. It considered that the English schools should represent the "secondary schools" of a system of national education analogous in position to the gymnasia of Germany and to the grammar schools of England. It accordingly prescribed an entrance examination test; levied a higher fee; and provided free-studentships for poor and deserving boys from vernacular schools. In 1844, it added to the upper division of the Elphinstone Institution a Surveying and Civil Engineering class; in 1845, it opened a Normal class for primary teachers in the Elphinstone Institution; and in 1846, it added a professor of botany and chemistry to the college staff. It also appointed a special committee for the preparation of English and Vernacular text books. In 1845, the Grant Medical College was founded by means of a popular contribution in honour of the late Governor, Sir Robert Grant, and a Government grant of equal amount; and in the same year the Sir J. J. Hospital was provided in connection with it through the munificence of Sir Jamsetji Jeejeebhai.

The most valuable work done by the Board was during the presidency (1843-1852) of Sir Erskine Perry, who strongly favoured the spread of English education among Indians and held to the "downward filtration" theory of giving higher education to a few and depending on the influence of these educated few to filter down to the mass of the population.

The following table will show the progress made by English and Vernacular schools during his administration:—

Year.	English Schools.		Vernacular Schools.	
	Schools.	Pupils.	Schools.	Pupils.
1844	5	1,061	192	9,912
1852	10	2,128	235	11,629

An indirect result of the Board's efforts for the spread of English education during this period was the opening of 9 private English schools in Bombay in 1849.

In 1852-53, the Government grant to the Board was increased to Rs. 2½ lakhs. Thus encouraged, the Board undertook to open a school in any village in the Presidency, if the village people, on their part, agreed to defray half the master's pay and to supply a school room and class books.

At the time of transfer of educational administration from the Board to the Department of Public Instruction, created in 1855 according to Wood's Education Despatch of the preceding year, the number of Government institutions in Bombay was 10, *viz.*, the Elphinstone Institution and 2 branch schools attended by 961 pupils and costing nearly Rs. 55,000 per annum; 6 vernacular schools with 560 pupils, costing Rs. 3,900 per annum; and the Grant Medical College with 71 pupils costing Rs. 28,000 per annum. The chief private institutions then were the Bombay Education Society's boys' and girls' schools, the Indo-British Institution, the Bombay Scottish Orphanage, the St. Mary's Institution, the Convent School at Parel, the Sir J. J. Parsi Benevolent Institution, the American Mission schools, the Robert Money School and 12 Vernacular schools belonging to the Church Missionary Society, and the Scottish Missionary Society's schools. There were also sectarian institutions, *viz.*, a Prabhu Seminary and a Bhatia School. There were also 9 free vernacular schools for girls with 654 pupils, founded by the Students' Literary and Scientific Society and one Hindustani School opened by Government in 1834 for the education of Muhammadans.

On the creation of the Department of Public Instruction, the vernacular schools in Bombay were placed in charge of the Deputy Educational Inspector of Thana and Kolaba districts. A Vernacular School Book Committee was also formed for the improvement of the books produced by the Marathi and Gujarati translators.

In 1855, a Law class was opened in the College Department of the Elphinstone Institution, and an Indian (the late Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji) was, for the first time, appointed on the professorial staff as Professor of Mathematics. In 1856, the College was separated from the Elphinstone Institution and removed to a rented bungalow at Byculla, and a Deputy Inspectorship of Gujarati Schools was created. In 1857, the Sir J. J. School of Art started Drawing classes with 44 students in the Elphinstone Institution; the David

Sassoon Industrial and Reformatory Institution was established ; and the University of Bombay was incorporated. About the same time, two new English schools on partially self-supporting lines were opened : the Jagannath Shankarsheth School in 1857 and the Gokuldas Tejpal School in 1858, the founders contributing half the teachers' salary and providing the necessary school house and furniture and Government undertaking to pay the remaining half of the teachers' salary. In 1858-59, an English class was opened in one Marathi and in one Gujarati school; vernacular schools were divided into superior vernacular schools (teaching a six-standard primary school course) and village schools (teaching up to primary standard III, which was then the entrance standard for English schools); and Hope's Gujarati Reading Series was compiled. In the same year, physical education was provided for by the opening of a gymnastic institution, which has since developed into the present Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit Gymnastic Institution. In 1861, a Marathi class was opened in the Grant Medical College, and a similar Gujarati class in 1874-75, which have since developed into the present B. J. Medical Schools at Poona and Ahmedabad. In 1862, the Municipalities were empowered by law to assign funds for the maintenance of schools within Municipal limits. In 1863, the levy of a local fund cess of one anna per rupee of land assessment was sanctioned by Government and put into effect in the following year. In 1865, a grant-in-aid code was introduced for the benefit of schools under private management and grants began to be paid on the results of detailed examination of each pupil in each subject of the school curriculum. In 1866, standards of instruction in Vernacular and Anglo-Vernacular schools were drawn up, and Public Service Certificate Examinations were instituted. Mixed committees of Revenue, Judicial, and Educational officers of each district had hitherto examined annually or biennially candidates for admission to the lower grades of the Public Service. This system was now replaced by a system of award of Public Service Certificates by officers of the Educational Department at the time of the annual examination of Government schools. None but holders of these certificates and University Matriculates were eligible henceforward for employment in Government service. About the same time, education of European and Eurasian children in Bombay received great impetus

by the foundation of the Scottish Education Society in 1866 and of the Diocesan Board of Education in 1866-67, both of which engaged in great educational activity for the benefit of the Anglo-Indian community. In 1868, St. Xavier's College and High School were founded. In the same year, girls' education received a stimulus by the Government of India's annual grant of Rs. 10,000 for girls' education ; by Miss Mary Carpenter's visit to Bombay and Ahmedabad ; and by the consequent establishment of training schools for women teachers in Bombay, Ahmedabad and Poona. The system of teacher-training was also reorganised. A candidate on completing the full primary school course was attached to a good vernacular school as a pupil teacher for a period of two years. He was then sent to a Training College where, after spending a probationary year, he underwent a course of one year's or two years' systematic training. On obtaining the first or second year's training certificate, he was appointed as a teacher on the fixed minimum pay of his class and, if appointed as head master, was paid also a capitation and proficiency allowance varying with the size and quality of his school. In addition to this, all teachers on pay of more than Rs. 10 per mensem were now made eligible for pension. In 1869, the levy of one anna local fund cess was made compulsory by Government, and local committees were appointed to administer the local fund thus created and directed to assign one-third of it to primary education. Thus, the first effective step was taken to provide a definite means for the support of primary education which had, till then, depended on " a capricious assignment of public funds, which might increase or decrease according to the accidental favour or disfavour with which the claims of the masses were regarded by the higher authority, or the oscillations of Indian Administration".* In the same year, encouragement was given to higher education by the allotment to the Bombay Presidency of two Government of India scholarships of £200 per annum, tenable in England for three years by students desiring to take a British University degree or enter the Indian Civil Service.

In 1871, the standards of instruction were further revised so

* Report of the Bombay Provincial Committee published as Appendix (Bombay Vol. I) to the Report of the Indian Education Commission of 1882-84.

as to make the primary, the middle, and the high school course complete in itself and yet so co-ordinated with the course of the next higher institution as not to delay a pupil who was desirous of passing on to a more advanced course. By this revision, the Anglo-Vernacular school course was lengthened from 6 to 7 years. The Rules for the Public Service Certificate Examinations were also revised, requiring these examinations to be held annually by the Divisional Educational Inspectors at the zilla head-quarters and discontinuing the award of Public Service Certificates by Inspecting Officers on the results of the annual school examinations. In 1872, the grant-in-aid code was revised so as to include in it provision for the payment of grants on assistant teacher's salaries and for school buildings. Primary schools in Bombay city which had up to 1871 depended entirely on Government for their support received in that year a grant of Rs. 10,000 from the Bench of Justices, which was increased to Rs. 15,000 in 1878 by the Bombay Municipality.

It is remarkable that girls' education had hitherto received no attention from Government, all the efforts in this direction having been made by Missionary and other private bodies. The first move by Government in this direction was made by the opening of the first Government Gujarati girls' school at Charni Road in 1873 and of the first Government Marathi girls' school at Kamathipura in 1876.

The Sir J. J. School of Art which up to 1873-74 was managed by a committee as an aided institution was in that year reorganised and transferred to Government control. In 1874, physical education received a fresh impetus by the establishment of the J. N. Petit Gymnasium at Khetwadi. In 1875, the Anjuman-i-Islam which has since played an important part in the education of Mahomedans in Bombay city was founded.

In 1882, Government appointed an Education Commission to inquire into the working of the existing system of education. As a result of the Commission's recommendations, the grant-in-aid code was again revised in 1886-87, providing for the issue of leaving certificates by recognised schools to pupils desirous of leaving one school to join another; the rules for the Public Service Certificate Examinations were amended in 1888; and Government Middle and High school scholarships were instituted in each district

including Bombay city. But the most important result of their recommendations was the creation of the Joint Schools Committee for the administration of primary education in Bombay City. According to the Bombay Municipal Act of 1888, it consisted of 8 members, 4 nominated by Government and 4 by the Municipality. On January 1st, 1890, Government handed over to the Joint Schools Committee all the primary schools in Bombay City with the fund, furniture, and appliances belonging to them, and lent it the services of the Deputy Inspectors of Marathi and Gujarati schools in Bombay City for the inspection of the schools transferred to its control. The Committee controlled and administered these schools, and maintained, aided, and suitably accommodated them from a fund called the School Fund, to which Government contributed Rs. 25,000 per annum (excluding moiety of the cost of the Deputy Inspectors' pay which Government had agreed to pay) and the Municipality Rs. 39,500. The total income from Government and Municipal contributions, school fees, etc., for the year 1890-91 totalled Rs. 85,550-1-0; and the total expenditure Rs. 81,861-1-11. The average cost of educating each pupil in the Municipal schools came to Rs. 11·1. The total number of educational institutions in Bombay City in the year 1890-91 was 326 and the total number of pupils attending them 21,323 (15,684 boys and 5,639 girls).

The following comparative figures will show the remarkable progress made by education in Bombay City since that year :—

	1890-91	1927-28
Total number of educational institutions	326	659
Total number of pupils	21,323	102,757

While the number of educational institutions has more than doubled, the number of pupils attending them has more than quadrupled.

Of the 659 educational institutions, 460 are primary schools (314 for boys and 146 for girls) attended by 66,168 pupils, of whom 42,560 are boys and 23,608 girls. The total expenditure of these schools amounts to over Rs. 34 lakhs, to which Government contributes about Rs. 8½ lakhs and the Bombay Municipality about Rs. 24 lakhs. The cost of educating each primary school pupil in

Bombay City has also increased from Rs. 11 in 1890-91 to Rs. 67 per annum.

Besides, Bombay possesses a University, 58 High schools preparing pupils for the University Matriculation, 3 Arts Colleges, 1 Secondary Training College and 2 Primary Training Institutions for Women, 1 Law College, 1 College of Commerce and 18 Commercial schools, 1 Science Research Institute, 1 University School of Economics and Sociology, 2 Medical Colleges, 1 Veterinary College, 1 Technical Institute and 2 Industrial Schools, 1 School of Art, 11 Music Schools, 3 Institutions for Physical Training, 2 Reformatory Schools, 2 Schools for the Blind, 2 Schools for Deaf Mutes, 1 Night High School and 55 Night Primary Schools, 2 excellent museums and several public libraries and reading rooms. It also possesses societies for special studies like the Bombay Natural History Society founded in 1883, the Bombay Anthropological Society founded in 1886, the Bombay Art Society in 1888, and a Bombay Teachers' Association formed in 1898.

It will thus appear that Bombay has, during the last 125 years, steadily and liberally provided itself with various kinds of educational institutions suited not only to its own needs but also to those of the Presidency. While its primary and secondary schools cater mainly for the population of the city, bigger institutions like the Bombay University, the Grant Medical College, the Veterinary College, the College of Commerce, the Law College, the Royal Institute of Science, the V. J. Technical Institute, the Sir J. J. School of Art, and the Sir Dinshaw Manekji Petit Gymnastic Institution serve the educational needs not only of Bombay City but also of the whole of the Presidency. As we have already said, the history of these institutions is the history of education not only in Bombay City but in the whole of the Presidency. The study of the former involves the study of the latter and that of the latter that of the former, so intimately and inextricably is the one bound up with the other.

DEVELOPMENT OF THE KANNAḌA DRAMA.

BY K. G. KUNDANGAR.

“ A history of the stage is of all things the most instructive, to see not only the reflection of manners and characters at several periods, but the modes of making their reflection, and the manner of adopting it at those periods to the taste and disposition of mankind.”

EDMUND BURKE.

The history of the Kannaḍa drama up to the 17th century is lost to us so far as its knowledge is handed down to us. However there are references to the effect that the Kannaḍa stage was to a certain extent developed as early as the 10th century. Much evidence literary as well as inscriptional can be adduced in this connection. Ādi-Pampa (941) in his Ādipurāṇa compares the universe to a handsome actor on the stage with his hands resting on his waist (1.45). Ponna in his Śānti-purāṇa compares the moon-rise to a stage manager (sūtradhāra) ; he compares the stars to the flowers scattered by him on the stage ; he compares the receding darkness to the up-going curtains ; and he compares the four divisions of the night to the four acts of the drama (8.71.). Ranna's Gadāyuddha (932) exhibits the stage directions and dramatical techniques. On this very account it has been recently rewritten in the form of a drama. The Sorab Inscription No. 28 (Epigraphia Carnatica) dated 1208 describes the king Vira-Ballāla as an actor performing the Tāṇḍava dance like Śiva ; his stage is the battle-field ; the heads of his enemies cut off are the cymbals ; the music on the stage is that of the hobgoblins ; the sound of the beating drums at his victory is the sound of the musical instruments playing ; and the skulls of his enemy kings form the garland on his neck. (Sorab 28). Such happy and apt similes of actors could not have suggested themselves to the authors of these verses had not dramatic performances been common in those days, and had not the poets witnessed such performances. In the history of Tennāl Rāmakṛṣṇa

there are references to the dramas played in the royal palace of Vijayanagara before King Kṛṣṇadevarāya. Finally the great Kannaḍa grammarian Bhaṭṭākalankadeva (1604) in reviewing the extant books in Kannaḍa in his Śabdānuśāsana remarks, "Many works on philology, politics, philosophy, drama, rhetorics, arts, etc., are available." Such is the evidence culled out of the literary works and the inscriptions of the earlier times.

The history of the dramatic literature tells us that Mummaḍi Tamma-bhūpāla was the first playwright (1665). But unfortunately his work is not available, nor can we get the name of his drama. It was, so much is certain, written in a semi-developed form called Yakṣagāna. The birth of Yakṣagāna is foreseen in the Nāṭya-sandhi (dramatic cantos), Pūrva-nāṭaka-sandhi and Uttara-nāṭaka-sandhi of Bharateśa Vajbhava of Ratnākara-varṇi (1557). In these two cantos a sort of pantomime is described vividly as if enacted on the stage to the accompaniment of music and dancing to please the emperor Bharata, the son of the first Tirthaṅkara Vṛṣabhadeva. Maids of ripe age and of high birth took part in it, it is said therein, and displayed their charms to so great an advantage that the emperor fell in love with the heroine and married her.

From the 17th century onwards down to the very beginning of the 19th century the playwrights took to the writing of Yakṣagānas which became more and more attractive, and finally Hanumadvilāsa, Pralhāda, 'Gayacharitre, Draupadīvastraharaṇa, Bāṇāsura, and Kṛṣṇa-pārijāta held the theatre-goers almost spell-bound. These dramas had their influence on the Marathi stage and proved a stimulus to its development. For, Mr. Appaji Viṣṇu Kulakārṇi in his "Marāṭhī Stage" (मराठी रंगभूमि) says: "A dramatic Company by name Bhāgavata from the North Kanara District visited Sāngli in the year 1842 and staged two or three of their plays before the then Chief of Sāngli Chintāmaṇarāo Appāsaheb." He further adds that these dramas were similar to Kṛṣṇa-pārijāta which was played in the Belgaum and Dharwar Districts. "Appā-sāheb was very much impressed by these performances and asked one Mr. Viṣṇupanta Bhāve to stage similar dramas in Marāṭhī. He took up the suggestion, and working hard for some days staged his first play Sītā-svayamvara in Marāṭhī in the year 1843. This was the beginning of the Marāṭhī stage in a decent form."

The present Kannaḍa drama and the stage had their source in the Puppet-shows of Kiḷḷiketas and Dāsa-plays. A group of low-born nomadic people, called Kiḷḷiketas, used to represent scenes from the two great epics Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata with the help of painted leather puppets mounted on cardboards on a small stage 5'×5'×5'. All the sides of the stage were covered and the front had a white thin screen. The stage manager with his assistants was inside with a lamp to illuminate the front screen. The audience was to be in the dark. With the commencement of the music pertaining to a particular story the stage-manager placed on the front screen the puppets in postures to suit the story. There were contrivances also for the gesticulation of the pictures. When an old man from Dharwar witnessed for the first time a cinema show he at once declared "This is our Kiḷḷiketa-play."

Gradually there came on the scene the Dāsa-plays. The Dāsas were a class of untouchables and strolling actors, begging by day and staging their plays at night, when required, on the open outside the village or in a temple compound. These required no curtains and no stage. Their dramas were musical farces, the stories of which were drawn from the epics. The stage-manager and the actors indulged in vulgar jokes to tickle the hearts of the audience; and to light the stage, the stage-manager held a large spoon containing burning dungcakes, soaked in oil.

The mind of the public could not be satisfied with such plays. They, therefore, turned their attention to the stage. They began to enact scenes from the two epics, in which अद्भुतरस (marvellous sentiment), वीररस (heroic sentiment), करुणरस (pathetic sentiment), and हास्यरस (humourous sentiment) were the chief rasas. The hāsyā-rasa was appropriated by the stage-manager for himself, who related the story in general, and Karuṇarasa was appropriated by the female characters; while vīra and adbhuta rasas were left to the males, who created every sort of noise by their tumultuous actions and roars. The Rakṣasas were clad in short knickers, wore crowns and loose hair on their heads, and also armlets and arm-plates. Similar was the dress of kings and gods, but of a milder type; the painting presented no terrifying effect as in the other case, and they wore dhotaras on their loins. From the

very beginning almost to the end the stage-manager used to sing with his assistants giving hints thereby to the various characters. With all this the characters generally spoke very little. The stage for these was a rectangular mandapa erected for the purpose in the open outside the village or in the compound of a temple. The dramas thus played were called *Dodḍāṭas* (heroic plays).

The *Yakṣagānas* are an improvement over these, and very nearly approached the present form of the drama except in their having *Gaṇapati* and *Sarasvatī* at the beginning, from whom are sought boons by the stage-manager. These were played on a stage, the floor of which was of wooden planks supported on horizontal beams about 3' above the ground, so as to make it visible to all the audience. There was only one curtain. The stories of the dramas were as in other cases selected from the epics.

The crude form of the drama was thus gradually changed and the present one was evolved. A change has been effected both in writing and staging it. *Tapatī-kalyāṇa* of *Venkaṭavaradāchārya* written in 1875 is the first in dramatic literature.

3. The first available drama in the old Kannaḍa literature is *Mitravindā-Govinda* of *Singarāya* (1680). It is the translation of the Sanskrit drama *Ratnāvalī* and is written in the *Halegannaḍa* style. From this date down to the present day nearly 1,500 dramas have been written. It is a pity that they are not all available. About 500 of these have been preserved in the Government Oriental Library, Mysore. These dramas are not of one form, some are like the Sanskrit ones, in prose and verse ; some in prose only, some are in prose and songs (*Saṅgīta*) ; and some are farcical. The development of dramatic literature was very slow at the beginning and increased greatly in the last quarter of the last century, when peace and prosperity reigned everywhere. During this period were translated not only such important Sanskrit dramas as *Śākuntala*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvasīya*, *Mṛcchakaṭīka*, *Veṇī-saṁhāra*, *Uttara-Rāma-carita*, and *Mālatī-Mādhava*, but the Shakespearean dramas *Merchant of Venice*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Taming of the Shrew*, etc., were also rendered into Kannaḍa. Many farcical and social dramas also were written. More than 500 plays were written

during this period, and it would not be uninteresting to note that this number was far ahead of the Marāṭhī dramas (which owe their birth to the Kannaḍa stage) numbering about 300 as calculated on page 117 of *Nibandhāvalī*, the souvenir volume II of *Vividhājñāna-vistāra* of 1923.

4. Amusement is the main purpose to be served by drama. Firstly because the plays are teeming with the nine rasas, and the different scenes and incidents in them touch the vital sentiments of man and make him experience them. On this account a man comes to like drama.

Secondly, imitation by gesticulation is more interesting than actual life. The dramatist selects a good story, remodels it if necessary, puts together in a small compass the scattered incidents spread over a length of time, develops the rasas so as to give the desired effect, and then writes out the play. This is why the drama is more interesting than the incidents observed and experienced in life.

Thirdly, the picture skilfully delineated with imagination by a dramatist is a mirror to the ideas current in the society in which he lives. The dim ideas lurking in the society's mind are at once brought out vividly, and appeal to it most. The drama thus becomes interesting to society.

Doḍḍāṭas and Yakṣagānas were the visualized scenes from the epics adopted on purpose for amusing the public at large. Hence they were not capable of producing the desired effect on the mind. Admiration for them was inevitable, but in them the tendency towards limitation and free play of imagination were not at all cared for, with the result that the mind of the audience did not feel at home. The progressive mind, therefore, turned to the event possible and plausible, in which human beings had taken part, and made these the subject matter of drama. It was not a matter of importance if the subject matter was drawn from an epic. To reduce the marvellous element in it, to depict character and to paint the rasas consistently and logically so as to contribute to the development of the story and to converge on the end of the drama, were important. This arrangement would make the audience feel that the dramatic

personages were taken from amongst themselves, and they would feel at home and experience the theatrical effectiveness of the drama. Such an individual element, evolved out of the social one, was slowly working in the 18th century, and developed considerably in the last quarter of the 19th, when the progress of the drama was rapid. Out of the crystallized custom then there was a new departure, a step forward. Thus there came into existence an accepted way of telling a story in action—a formula at once satisfactory to actors and spectators alike.

This method was not new to the Kannaḍigas. They had experienced this in the Sanskrit dramas and had forgotten it during the troubled times of the mediæval days. It is an instance of the proverb 'history repeats itself.' The crude form was thus gradually changed and the present form was evolved out of it. A complete change has been ultimately effected both in writing and staging a drama. Throughout this evolution music was the necessary accompaniment of the Kannaḍa drama unlike the Marāṭhī one, and was absent only in farces and true translations of the Sanskrit dramas.

Kannaḍa stage cannot forget its indebtedness to the Marāṭhī stage at this period. The Kirloskar Dramatic Company and the Śāhu-Nagara-vāsi Company oft visited the Karnāṭaka and roused her dormant spirits.

5. To keep pace with the increasing interest in the drama, the number of playwrights also increased. It will not be out of place if some of the representative authors be mentioned here. Messrs. Basavappa-śāstri, Śrīkantheśgauda, Śeṣagirīrāo Tūramari, and Dhonḍo Narasimha Muḷabāgala occupy the premier position as the beautiful translators of Sanskrit dramas. Next to these come Messrs. Guṇḍo Kṛṣṇa Curamari, Vāsudevācārya Kerūra, A. Ānandarāo, Cannabasavappa Basavalingappa and Honnāpura-maṭha as the translators of the Shakespearean dramas. These translations are mostly in prose. Then comes Mr. Bālācārya Sakkari alias Śānta-kavi with his voluminous writings introducing altogether new changes in the dramatic literature. He is followed by Mr. Kṛṣṇarāo Mudaveḍakar, at once a famous actor and a dramatist, who proved to the theatre-going public that the Kannaḍa stage could be made as interesting as, or even more than, the Marāṭhī stage. This idea was practically demonstrated success-

fully by the dramas of Messrs. Śrinivās-kavi, Sūlibele D. Sāmarāya and Eri Śeṣa. The influence of the Marāṭhī stage as regards music may be well seen in the dramas of Mr. Hiremaṭha. He tried to cry down social evils with a religious tinge in them. Mr. M. Venkaṭeśaiyengār is more scientific in his dramas, and has devoted much attention to make them interesting as well as instructive. Mr. T. P. Kailāsam, an actor and a playwright, adds rich drollery, mirth and humour, and has shown successfully how the current topics can be discussed in a drama.

Many more dramatists have made rich contributions to the Kannaḍa dramatic literature. But space does not allow of their mention here.

There are dramatists, whose attempts to try their hand at writing a play have failed, and who have degraded the art by their indecent humour and bad taste. These dramatists will be forgotten shortly and will have no place in the literary gallery.

6. There can be no difference of opinion on the purpose of the drama being amusement ; but if this were the main purpose it would have lost all its importance. Apart from its entertaining value it is also educative. It cannot be shown historically that dramas have brought about political revolutions; nor have they been the cause of social and religious revolutions. But they have not failed to impress the public mind by their casual discussion of the views of the writers on these topics. If literature is a rudder to steer public opinion, why should a drama which is a part and parcel of it, fail to give a helping hand to it? The staged drama is understood by the literate and the illiterate, and therefore, its educative value is more than the other forms of literature.

Drama is a form of poetry, and all its qualities are seen in its most developed form therein. It is not self-contained. It implies everywhere the co-operation of elements outside itself. The subject matter of a drama is nothing more than a bare outline of the story which the playwright intended to be filled in by the actor. For this very reason much of its effect is likely to be lost on us in the perusal of a written drama. The enjoyment of a play as a piece of literature must always make greater demands on our apprehension and interpretation. The external conditions from which it derives

much of its life and the whole machinery of actual performance are to be supplied to ourselves. Our imagination must be so alert that every scene must be conceived as if it were passing before our eyes in action. Thus the imaginative faculty of the reader is developed, and he uses his thinking power to criticise the ideas of the playwright.

In the drama are seen the full play of sentiments and characterisation. Not that poetry is devoid of these, but these are spread over a great length and cannot be experienced in a short space and time. Nor can poetry be staged like the drama. Replete with all the sentiments the drama becomes more attractive, captivating, instructive and interesting. Hence the proverb काव्येषु नाटकं रम्यम् ।

Behind the story, in which the playwright is bound to express ideas suitable to it, are hidden the ideas—the mental workings of the author—on a particular theme. And these ideas of his pertain to the circumstances, surroundings, and times in which he is brought up, lives, and thinks. Consequently the mental projection of the author represents his time also.

It is not binding on each and every drama to stand the test of criticism. Some may have been written simply to amuse the people ; some like *Tollu-gaṭṭi* and *Viṣama-vivāha* may have been written to point out the social conditions : some like *Pralhāda* may have been written to criticise the faulty educational system ; and some like *Bhīṣma* and *Tālikoṭeya Kāḷaga* may set the audience to think of high ideals, but the general purpose of the drama will ever remain the same.

7. The following is the classification of the dramas satisfying all the critical tenets pointed out in the preceding paragraph. The translations are to be excepted. For, they do not come under the purview of the original dramas.

Translations.

Śakuntala, *Uttara-Rāma*, *Mālavikāgnimitra*, *Vikramorvaśīya*, *Mṛcchakaṭika*, *Mālatī-Mādhava*, *Ratnāvali*, *Mudrā-Rākṣasa*, *Veṇi-saṁhāra*, *Priyadarśikā*, etc., were translated closely or loosely to serve as pieces of literature, and to be acted on the stage. *Sitāsvayamvara* and other Bengālī dramas were also translated.

Social customs being the same these afforded no difficulty in their translations. Hamlet's mother marrying her brother-in-law a few days after her husband's death, the parting of the hero and the heroine soon after their marriage in the Taming of the Shrew, and similar other incidents could not be retained consistently with Indian customs. It was very hard, therefore, to translate the English dramas to suit the Indian stage and to win the estimation of the lovers of literature, and the theatre-going public. Some say that these should be rendered closely, and not adapted to suit Indian customs. In that case the mind trained to view eastern society will not feel at home. The translators however have done their best to adapt them to suit Indian custom. Merchant of Venice, Midsummer Night's Dream, Taming of the Shrew, Comedy of Errors, Macbeth, and As You Like It are the best among the translated dramas of Shakespeare.

Epic Dramas.

Saubhadra, Draupadī, Pralhāda, Kṛṣṇalīlā, Hariścandra, Naḷa, Kṛṣṇārjuna-Kāḷaga, Pādukā-paṭṭābhiṣeka, Padmāvatī-pariṇaya are among the best Epic dramas.

Romantic Dramas.

These dramatists have been found to be free lances indulging in wandering over their own created world. Gulebakāvali, Vidhavā-vivāha, Kaumudī, Mohanāstra and others come under this category.

Historical Dramas.

In these the thoughts of the dramatists are constrained as regards the place, time, and the truth of the story in general. Yuva-rāja-Kaṇṭhīra-va-Kalyāṇa, Tāḷikoṭeya-Kāḷaga, Pratāpa-Rudradeva, Mār-nāyaka, Kariya-bhaṇṭa, etc., may be included under this heading.

Social Dramas.

Viṣama-vivāha, Śārada, Toḷlu-gaṭṭi, Sahakāra, etc., fall under this category.

Religious Dramas.

Reṇukā, Anasūyā, Guru-dattarāya, Śāni-mahātmya, Basaveśvara are dramas which, though epic in nature teach high standards of morals and religion. They cry down social evils and interpret religious teachings. The last one has got some historical basis to which objection has been taken by certain communities.

Farces.

Mahā-badhira-prahasana, Kalahapriyā, Maduveya Galabili, Lakkā-Lakkī-fārsu, etc., are popular on the stage.

EUROPEAN SOCIAL LIFE IN BOMBAY, 1804 AND 1929.

A Bird's-eye view.

BY NORA GOFFIN.

To picture Bombay in the early days one must visualize its surroundings before discussing its inhabitants. There were but 150,000 of these, of which number the Europeans were proportionately few.

If, in the year of grace 1804, we had stood and gazed with modern eyes from the summit of Malabar Hill, then almost a country suburb with no European residences, we should have marked some very startling vacancies. We should have looked forth over the harbour and its forests of masts ; the intervening roads would have been dotted with but a few old chariots and half a dozen Parsi buggies. But the palanquins were then still numerous. Government House was in Parel, and the fashionable European suburbs were Byculla and Mazagaon. The town itself was fortified, and Apollo, Church and Bazaar Gates were not merely names. Houses were still floored with cow-dung, and a few had in their windows pearl oyster-shell in place of glass. Water was only to be had from wells. Candles were still used for lighting. English news often took eight months to arrive. There were no hill stations.

Those were the days when Bombay was a tenth as important, from the European point of view, as Calcutta or Madras. It excelled Calcutta, however, as a city of smells : the drainage was foul ; pariah dogs abounded.

English society in Bombay in 1804 was composed of a few very wealthy merchants, some talented civilians, and a number of military officers. Exchange was at Rs. 8 to the pound, and merchants who retired after many years (*if* they survived, for many died at an early age) could truthfully be accounted Nabobs. There were no charitable institutions, but money was freely given privately : the orphan children of an officer received Rs. 10,000 on his death ; £280 were given to a sailor who had his leg bitten off by a shark in

the harbour ; the gold vase presented by officers in the Deccan to Sir Arthur Wellesley cost two thousand guineas.

In those days the Europeans strove to make a home in India ; voyages to England were long and costly. People were more sociable as they had little else to depend on but their own society for their amusement. Hospitality was genuine, and it was not uncommon for a married couple, with their children, servants and horses, to arrive unexpectedly for a month's visit with their friends. Hotels were little more than taverns and were seldom resorted to.

Bombay, even in its early days, was more expensive than other cities in India, and more backward in European amenities. It must also have been a very unhealthy City. Sir James Mackintosh, when Recorder, wrote : " There is a languor and a lethargy in the society here I see around me no extraordinary prevalence of disease, but I see no vigorous health." A curious fear of the east wind existed at that time : those who forgot to close their windows at night, when it was blowing, apparently lost the power of their limbs !

1804 was the year of Sir Arthur Wellesley's victories. A dinner, fête and illuminations were given in his honour at the Bombay Theatre, reputed to be the oldest in India. It was run by amateurs, including Government officials, for charity and amusement, and stood on the old Bombay Green, now Elphinstone Circle. As well as amateur theatricals, there were races, which took place in the morning, Bobbery hunts in gay uniforms, balls, reviews, launches—for a number of vessels were built in the port,—and dinners, at which toasts were sung to the ladies, and after which hookah smoking was indulged in by the men, sitting cross-legged on the carpets. Smoking in public was condemned, but snuff was still taken. Dinner was at four o'clock, tea at seven, while between dinner and tea the time was occupied with drives to Breach Candy and promenades on the Fort Bastions.

As some sort of precedent to the modern Women's Movement, the first dentist in Bombay was Clara Rainitz, hailing from Cairo and Constantinople—incidentally, her husband was an interior decorator ! There were but few unmarried women in European society but numbers of young matrons, who, contrary to the custom pre-

valent in England at that time, were, perforce, in great request at balls.

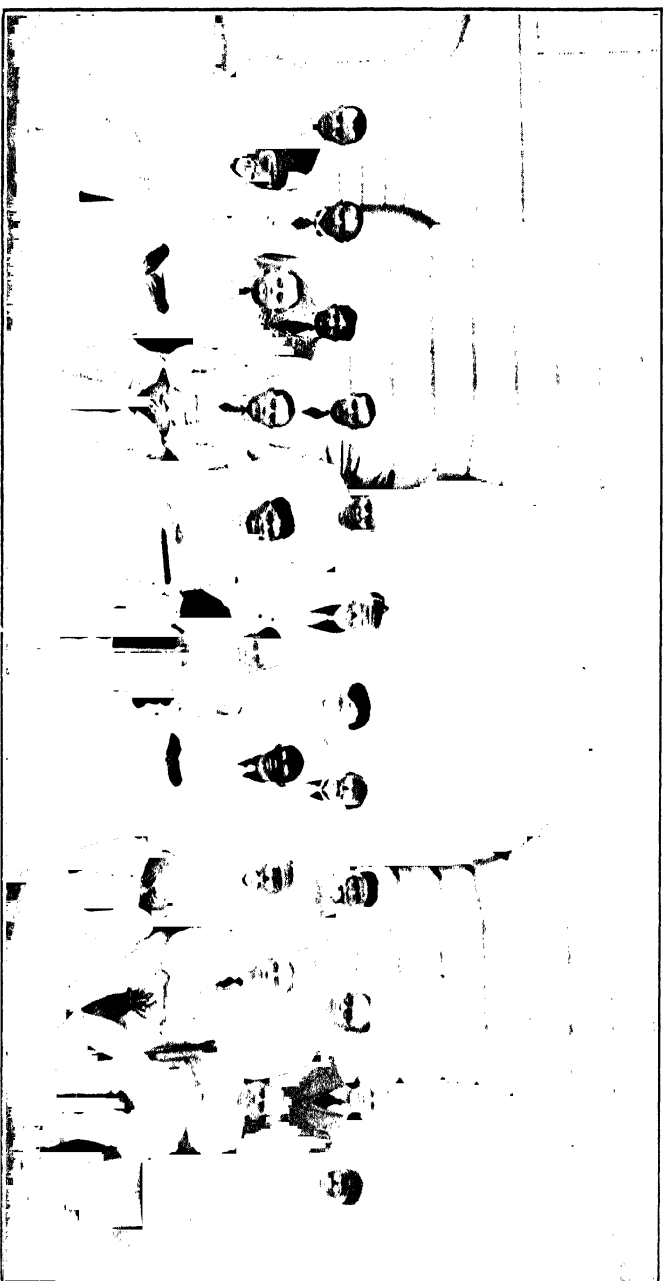
Now in 1929, women join with men in their physical activities and keep much better health in consequence. It is no uncommon sight to see European women walking through the streets of Bombay at almost every hour of the day, for exercise is now a great fetish. Amusements are healthier : tennis, cricket, football, yachting, golf, swimming are to be had. On theatricals I may quote Lady Falkland who, though writing in 1848, might well be stating the facts of 1929 ! She says : "There is a very pretty theatre ; but it is rarely opened, and when it is, it is rarely filled. There are no public picture galleries, no private ones ; a concert is rarely heard of ; for, somehow, poor Bombay is out of the beat of artists. No great singer ever dreamt of coming here ; and when a mediocre one arrives, very little encouragement is given, because he or she may not be a Mario or a Jenny Lind." Much of that still stands to-day, to our shame be it said !

Men certainly work much longer hours now ; on the other hand furloughs ordinarily occur every three years. Life is perhaps less sociable, and more self-contained. There is no great wealth amongst Europeans ; they can only hope to make a competency during their average of twenty years here, and they have no desire to retire as 'old crocks.' To be able to return in good health, and while young enough to enjoy what remains to them after their exile in the east, is the desire of most Europeans to-day.

It is said that Buenos Aires is the most expensive city in the world, but Bombay runs it a close second ; so that hospitality is not often possible. The modern flat in which the European lives might quite easily be compared with that of the present day in the United States. It is, as a rule, only large enough for a married couple, though it may have many amenities, electric lights and fans and refrigerators. The rent is proportionately high. The few roomy older residences which remain at all accessible to the European pocket have to be shared by families, or with paying guests who are taken in to share the expense. Colaba, once the most unhealthy part of Bombay, and condemned by the military authorities, is now a growing European suburb.

Sanitary reforms and good water works have changed the city. Plague is almost a thing of the past, and cholera of far less common occurrence. Bombay is now a city of mills and motor cars, with a population of over a million. Though there is great rivalry with Calcutta, and though it still remains very secondary as a European city, its position as *prima urbs* is now fairly established. If there is less general social life to-day amongst Europeans it is at any rate less restricted and more intelligent—little is left of the old customary Anglo-Indian vapidities.

Managing Committee : B.B.R.A.S., 1929.



Sitting from left to right : 1. Mr. S. V. Bhambarkar, 2. Mr. J. S. Tilley, *Hon. General Secretary*, 3. The Hon. Sir James Hensin, *The President*, 4. Mr. A. P. Vaidya, *Vice President*, 5. Shri. Vidyalama Sir Jivani, *J. Moh. President*, 6. Dr. James Parker Hogg, *Secretary*, 7. Mr. P. V. Kanne, *Ex-President*, 8. Mr. J. R. Aspinwall, 9. Dewan Bahadur K. M. Jhaveri.

Standing from left to right : 1. Mr. E. L. Everett, 2. Mr. A. A. V. Jeyaraj, 3. Mr. B. R. W. Jeyaraj, 4. Mr. A. Forington, 5. Mr. T. R. N. Ganga, 6. Prof. A. B. Gajendrakumar, 7. Mr. G. V. Acharya, 8. Prof. N. B. Divatia, 9. Prof. E. M. Ezekiel, 10. The Rev. Fr. H. Higgs, 11. Mr. R. C. Ganga, 12. Mr. C. A. Murbhara.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
125TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE
Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society

DR. JIVANJI JAMSHEDJI MODI, *in welcoming His Excellency and guests, said :—*

YOUR EXCELLENCY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

I welcome you all on this day's important occasion, when you have kindly met here, in response to our invitation, to be associated with us in our rejoicings on the completion of our 125 years of work.

It is a strange coincidence that, when we last met 25 years ago to celebrate our Centenary, our patron, the then Governor, Lord Lamington, who presided, had just returned to Bombay from a journey entailing arduous work in Sind ; and now, on this occasion also, our Patron, His Excellency Sir Frederick Sykes, has just returned from a like journey in Sind, for the alleviation of the sufferings from flood, in which province he has done admirable service. We are deeply indebted to him for his kind presence and interest in our work.

Lord Lamington, at the end of his speech, thus spoke on the occasion of the Centenary :—"I trust that this centenary only marks one mile-stone in the course of prosperity that awaits the Royal Asiatic Society of Bombay in future—a course of prosperity which will tend to individuals acquiring fresh interests and knowledge in their own lines and which will enable them also to *change the unknown into the known.*"

Standing at another mile-stone this day, it is a pleasure for me, as President, to say that we have made our humble attempt during

the past period of 25 years “*to change the unknown into the known.*” Our learned members and co-workers have helped us to publish about 18 numbers of our Journal. We are permitted to speak of quantity, not of quality. I leave it to Your Excellency and to you, Ladies and Gentlemen, to judge, if we have done enough, and that enough well. But, while passing your judgment, kindly bear in mind what our then Honorary Secretary, the Rev. Dr. Scott, said :—“ We cannot rival the great Societies of Europe. On the gilded surface of this glittering Orient, life is hurried and changeful and the more gifted spirits are denied the luxury of learned leisure. Yet even here are some who wish to leave their foot-prints.”

In the early years of the life of the Society, those who were expected to work in the field of literature or science had the “luxury of learned leisure” to a greater extent than we have. Those were the times, when many such people could afford time to take siestas after their mid-day meal. Your Excellency can form an idea of the luxury of learned leisure of those early days from what was said by that great French scholar, Anquetil Du Perron, who was in Bombay in 1761. According to what he said in the preface-volume of his *Zend Avesta*, the Government House at Malabar Hill, in which Your Excellency now works from morning to evening, was, at that time, a rendezvous where the big folk of the city (*les premiers de la Colonie*) met to take their evening tea.

It is true that those early days of leisure—days of afternoon siestas and long bullock cart drives to Malabar Hill for evening teas—have gone. But still, I think, if not many, a select few can turn to our rooms for a little study.

There was a time when the doors of this Society were closed against Indians. But, it is a pleasure to find that since the doors were knocked upon, and knocked upon, and finally opened by that great Parsi, the late Mr. Manockji Cursetji, nearly 40 years after the foundation of the Society, many Indian scholars have contributed to the Journal of the Society.

Among all the Asiatic Societies—Asiatic Societies of the East and of the West—we stand second in point of age. Sir James Mackintosh, whose portrait Your Excellency is to unveil to-day,

was to us what Sir William Jones "the Columbus of the New World of Oriental learning" was to the Bengal Asiatic Society, which occupies the revered position of the Grandmother of all Asiatic Societies.

It is a coincidence that many good Scotsmen have been associated with the work of the Society since its foundation. As pointed out by our late Secretary, Rev. R. Scott, not only the first founder Sir James Mackintosh, but even the first Secretary, W. Erskine, and the first treasurer, Mr. Charles Forbes, whose statue stands in this Hall, were Scotsmen. Not only that but the then Governors of Bombay of the early period of this Society, who took deep interest in our work, like Jonathan Duncan, Mountstuart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, two of whom adorned the chair humbly occupied by me to-day, were also Scotsmen.

With these few words of welcome and expression of our joy, I request our Honorary Secretary, Dr. Parker, to place before you a brief history of the Society and submit an outline of the messages, of congratulations sent to us by various learned Societies of the world which are working like us in the field of Oriental Learning and by our former Patrons and Associates. We are thankful for all these congratulatory messages. From among all these messages, I request the Secretary to read first the letter from the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the very first Society of its kind in the world. Our Society is grateful to it as the Mother Society for its appreciation of our work. I, personally, am thankful to it for its appreciation of my humble literary work in the eve of my life.

The Honorary Secretary Dr. Edward Parker read messages of congratulation from Learned Societies, Past Patrons and Associates which had been received by the Society.

Dr. Parker then read the following brief history of the Society, showing its work and progress during the last twenty-five years :—

• HISTORY OF THE B. B. R. A. S. 1904-1929.

The history of the Society during the last quarter century has been, in the first place, one of contraction of its field of work and of specialisation in literary, philological and historical studies. This is a consequence, firstly, of a world-wide change of tendency, due to

the adoption of scientific methods of research in subjects formerly regarded as mainly literary, which spread from one field of learning to another through the course of the 19th century ; secondly, it is due to the appearance, during comparatively recent years, of new learned societies and institutions, each of which has concentrated upon a portion of the field of learning which our Society had for a century been practically alone in cultivating in the Presidency. Among these new bodies may be named the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India, the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, the K. R. Cama Institute and the postgraduate schools of the University of Bombay. Of these, the Museum has become the recognized centre of archæological studies and numismatics, the Bhandarkar Institute of Sanskrit and particularly of the Mahabharat, the Cama Institute of Iranian studies, and the University schools have become the focus of sociology and economics. Quite recently, a school of Indian History has been founded in the St. Xavier's College and an attempt has been made to resurrect the defunct Bombay Geographical Society in a new form. Finally, the natural sciences have found for themselves homes in other places, the Bombay Natural History Society doing work of outstanding value in zoology and allied studies and in botany, and the University specialising in the pure and applied sciences including medicine.

It is with nothing but satisfaction that our Society has watched the uprising of these centres of activity, for they are a happy presage of the large and increasing part which knowledge of all kinds will play in the life of India and, in particular, of the Bombay Presidency. It is our pride, also, to be able to claim that leaders, and often founders, of all these bodies are members of ours and that the torch of learning which was passed on to us by our forefathers in the Society has, in our time, lit so many beacons of intellectual light. In particular, by the loan of our archæological and geological collections, we have directly assisted the Museum in fields of research of growing importance. This transfer by loan, it may be mentioned, was made as the more practical alternative to the original proposal, made after the visit of Their Majesties the King-Emperor and Empress as Prince and Princess of Wales to India in 1905, that the new Museum, to be named after the then Prince,

and the Society's library should be housed in a single group of buildings in the Crescent.

The space in the Town Hall at the disposal of the Society has, during the last 25 years, undergone both expansion and contraction according to the requirements of Government. The block of rooms which house our library on the upper floor of the north wing has been our own possession ever since the building of the Town Hall about a century ago, on account of a contribution made to the cost of the building by the Society. In addition, Government was pleased to grant us the use of certain rooms in the south-western portion of the upper floor for our museum collections and permission to place some of our book-cases in rooms in the south-east portion. When the Bombay Legislative Council was formed, the Town Hall was chosen for its meetings and Government took back the rooms in the south-western portion, generously promising at the same time to consider the growing needs of the Society for space in any future readjustment of the rooms in the Town Hall building. In consequence of this willingness on the part of Government, the Society has, since the transfer of the Legislative Council to its own new building, been permitted the occasional use, for lectures and other functions, of the so-called 'Durbar Hall' in the south-eastern portion of the building, where several of its book-cases still remain and, for filing purposes, the use, for 10 years at a nominal rent, of the ground-floor rooms vacated by the Government Book Depot a year ago. In addition, Government, at our request, made us a grant of Rs. 15,000 for additional shelving, and this sum has been, almost entirely expended in the erection of shelving in the file-rooms and improved shelving in the library proper. To-day, therefore, we not only continue in undisturbed occupation of the upper floor of the northern wing but we are able to use the south-eastern rooms for occasions whenever they are not required by Government. We have also filing accommodation sufficient for at least 25 years' further growth of the library and we have utilised all the available shelving space in the library rooms. The collections loaned to the Museum are controlled by an agreement made between the Society and the authorities of the Museum, whereby the Society retains possession of the collections, which are insured by the Museum for sums agreed on between the two bodies.

The Society has also the right, granted by Government, to nominate one member of the Board of Trustees of the Museum.

The work done by the Society itself in fields of oriental research is represented by a number of volumes of its Journal brought out from time to time. A new series, produced on a modern line and furnished with a perfected system of transliteration, was begun a few years ago and, under the very capable editorship of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar, has won general recognition both in India and in Europe among Oriental scholars.

Further to encourage research in subjects of Oriental interest, friends and admirers of the late Sir James Campbell, the compiler of the monumental *Bombay Gazetteer*, collected and handed over to the Society a fund of Rs. 3,000 for the award of a gold medal, called the Campbell Memorial Gold Medal, triennially to a scholar who has published work of exceptional merit on Indian history, folklore or ethnology. The recipients of the medal contain some of the most distinguished names in these branches of learning. In addition, the Society itself has lately instituted another medal, called the Society's Silver Medal, which is to be awarded triennially to a person who shall be a member of the Society and shall have produced, during the immediately preceding three years, a work of outstanding value in any branch of Indian studies. The first award of this medal will be made in 1930.

Besides its Journal, the Society has undertaken other publications of value to itself and to the learned world. Catalogues, in the form of the India Office Catalogue, of its collections of Sanskrit and Prakrit manuscripts have been prepared by Prof. H. D. Velankar and published by the Society at a total cost of Rs. 7,000. A fund, organised by the Society in memory of one of its secretaries, the late A. M. T. Jackson, I.C.S., who was brutally murdered at Nasik in 1909, sufficed to purchase the splendid private library of Mr. Jackson and to support the revision of this scholar's *Folklore Notes* in two volumes undertaken by Mr. R. E. Enthoven, I.C.S. A special number of the Journal was devoted entirely to the publication of Mr. V. B. Ketkar's *Indian and Foreign Chronology*. Finally, through the praiseworthy diligence of the librarian, Mr. P. B. Gothoskar, whose service has covered the whole of the 25 years under review, a complete catalogue of the Society's library

in two volumes—Authors and Subjects—has been published, and is kept up-to-date by annual supplements. To meet modern requirements of reference, a card index on the Dewey system is being prepared of the whole library according to subjects and it may be said now that both scholar and general reader can find their way easily among the lakh of books in our possession, rearranged, as they further have been, in consecutive blocks of shelves according to subjects.

The membership and finances of the Society call for special consideration in this report. As with learned societies all over the world our steady progress in numbers and funds has been seriously disturbed by the War and its aftermath. The membership rose, particularly during the War years and the consequent increase of wealth in Bombay, to a maximum of 693 in 1925, and has since been slowly decreasing, in a manner commensurate with the depression of trade, till it stood at 662 in 1928. Though this latter figure compares well with the membership figure of 415 in 1905, the Society's income, which is mainly derived from members' subscriptions, has not been able to keep pace entirely with the rise in its expenditure. This expenditure has been much enhanced since the War by the necessity of granting increased salaries to the staff on account of the rise in the cost of living and by the cost of the special publications described above. To meet the increase, the resident membership subscription, which has fluctuated much—being Rs. 60 in 1804, Rs. 100 in 1811, Rs. 75 in 1875 and Rs. 50 from 1888 onwards—was raised to its original figure of Rs. 60, and the non-resident membership subscription was raised from Rs. 30 to 35 per annum. An entrance fee of Rs. 20 was also imposed for the first time in 1920. The Society has thus been able to balance its budget every year up to the present, notwithstanding the loss of the Government grant of Rs. 600 per annum which had been paid to the Society since its amalgamation with the old Bombay Geographical Society in 1873 but which was 'axed' by Government in 1925. Various efforts have been made to bring about that increase in membership which is the obvious solution of the ever-increasing financial difficulties, but it appears that no headway will be made in this direction till the present trade depression passes away. It is, however, urgent that ways and means should be found to stave off retrenchment of

any kind till brighter days come, and it is pleasing at least to report that no reduction has as yet been made in the expenditure on the library and its service, nor on the Journal. Schemes for expansion, however, such as that mooted by Government in 1920 to make the Society the Central Library and distributing agency of the Bombay circle (including the Central Provinces and the Indian States in Central India) without destroying the Society's peculiar character as a self-controlling body, have been of necessity postponed. This scheme is a happy indication of the importance which Government attaches to the position of the Society and the work which it has now performed for a century and a quarter of healthy and ever-growing activity.

To the statistics of membership and subscriptions given above it may be permitted to add a relative table showing the activity of the library at the beginning and at the end of the last 25 years :—

		1905.	1928.
New Books issued	..	12,688	13,264
Old Books issued	..	15,742	25,626
Periodicals issued	..	14,496	33,625
Volumes purchased	..	1,201	1,361

These figures speak more eloquently than words in favour of the view that in spite of the changing character of the Society's activities, it holds a place of increasing importance in the lives of the intelligentsia of the Presidency and of India.

MR. J. E. ASPINWALL requested *His Excellency* to unveil the portrait of SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH, the Founder of the Society, and in doing so, said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

It is my privilege as the oldest European member of the Managing Committee of this Society—my Committee-membership covering a period of 30 continued years—to ask you to unveil the portrait of our founder and first President, Sir James Mackintosh. •

Your Excellency is no doubt aware that Sir James Mackintosh was Recorder of Bombay and that, with that energetic love of culture for which he was noted, he founded the old Bombay Literary Society 125 years ago.

In 1829, just 100 years past, that Society was merged into the Royal Asiatic Society as its Bombay Branch.

Another achievement of Sir James Mackintosh was the initiation of the movement which raised the funds, by means of lotteries and donations of the building of this noble Town Hall of Bombay, whose pure Doric exterior columns receive universal admiration.

Of the amount raised, our Society contributed a sufficient amount to assure it the proprietary right of the wing of the Town Hall which we now occupy.

The Bombay Government of the day has generously assisted us from time to time and the initial shelves and book-cases are the original gift of Government.

Commentators and historians of Bombay have constantly made it a reproach that no portrait of Sir James Mackintosh had been portrayed in Bombay. By the present unveiling Your Excellency now removes that reproach. This is a very fine replica of the portrait by Sir Thomas Lawrence in the National Portrait Gallery in London with which I compared it as recently as last October and I feel sure it will give pleasure to many to view it and to us the members of this Society, to honour it for many years to come.

MR. V. P. VAIDYA, *in requesting the Governor to unveil the portraits of* DR. BHAU DAJI *and* PANDIT BHAGVANLAL INDRAJI,

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY,

The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society has granted me the privilege of inviting Your Excellency to unveil the portraits of two eminent scholars of the latter half of the last century who earned a great reputation for their antiquarian work. I will refer first to Dr. Bhau Daji, who, by profession a medical man and one of the first graduates of the Grant Medical College, combined with his medical studies the study of the ancient literature of India. In his profession he was helped by his eminent younger brother Narayan Daji who attained high eminence in the study of botany. Dr. Bhau Daji proved as competent a surgeon as he was a

competent Sanskritist. By critical study of the works of Kalidasa he very ably attempted to fix the dates and the history of several authors who lived before and after the great Indian poet. He attempted to decipher a number of ancient inscriptions and thereby to ascertain some data for constructing Indian history.

While studying he collected a number of old Sanskrit manuscripts and inscriptions which were ultimately presented to our Society. They are known as the Dr. Bhau Daji Collection Manuscripts. He was one of the first Fellows of our University and one of the most prominent leaders of his time. Though not very rich, he was a great philanthropist and even to-day after fifty years we hear anecdotes of the peculiar ways by which he helped the poor. He died about the year 1874. The public of Bombay was not slow in recognising his abilities and appreciating his work, which appreciation resulted in founding a scholarship bearing his name in the University of Bombay.

Dr. Bhagvanlal Indraji hailed from Junagadh, the surroundings of which in the Girnar hills of Kathiawar possess a large number of materials for antiquarian study in the form of inscriptions, caves and a number of other old relics. They pertain to Buddhism, Jainism and also Brahmanism. The late Sir Narayan Chandavarkar, speaking twenty-five years back on a similar occasion, very rightly said that he was a born antiquarian. Dr. Bhagvanlal never went to a school or a college and he did not know English till he was forty. But he had the natural aptitude and imagination to decipher the ancient inscriptions and to understand them by rendering them into Sanskrit. By this method he mastered several ancient languages of India in which most of the inscriptions were found. Even as a boy of fifteen he had deciphered a certain portion of the inscription on the Girnar Rock. This young man, when he was about twenty, was invited to Bombay by a European officer who admired his ability and hard work. He became so prominent among Oriental Scholars that within a year he settled in Bombay as a co-worker with Dr. Bhau Daji whom he always proudly called his Guru. But the pupil within a few years made his mark so prominently that in his later years Dr. Bhau Daji only endorsed his views. Dr. Bhagvanlal travelled in the North as far as Nepal and Kashmir, as far as

Peshawar and eastern Baluchistan in the West, Patna and Puri in the East, and the rock-cut cave temples in the South. In Nepal during a short stay he was able to construct the genealogy of the Nepal kings. The ancient pillars of Saranath, Allahabad and the Stupas of Sanchi and other places and also the ancient caves in Western India had a great fascination for him. All these materials he collected, and wrote papers on these antiquarian subjects which were translated into English by his European friends, especially the late Dr. Buhler who used to say that he never added a word to papers for which Dr. Bhagvanlal was alone responsible and that he was mostly right in his conclusions. This is not the place to recount his many travels including even one in the desert of Sind the difficulty of which may only be understood by our remembering that in those days the railway was scarcely dreamt of. After the death of his Guru he lived fourteen years. The latter portion of his life was spent in Western India where he found out by the critical study of inscriptions an ancient Stupa in a place called Sopara very near Bombay which, in about the beginning of the Christian era, was a prosperous capital of a great kingdom. There are several such discoveries of his, the narration of which would fill a volume. They can well be read in the Journal of our Society and in the Indian Antiquary.

He also collected a large number of antiquarian inscriptions, copper-plates, pillars, which he bequeathed to the British Museum of London. His collection of manuscripts is placed in our Library by the side of the Bhau Daji Collection.

He had the honour of receiving the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from a European University, and he had the unique honour of being elected an honorary member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, Scotland and Ireland.

Our presidency was not backward in recognising his services to Oriental learning. He was an honorary member of our Society and a fellow of the local University, and the public of Bombay collected a large fund and founded a lectureship in Palaeography in his name in our University.

I cannot close without mentioning that the portrait of Dr. Bhau Daji is the work of our well-known artist Mr. Pithawala

and is a present to our Society by one of our oldest members and an admirer of the doctor, Mr. Shantaram Narayan Dabholker.

Dr. Bhagvanlal's portrait is the work of Mr. Harishanker, a rising Kathiawari artist. Two of my friends joined me in presenting this portrait to the Society as a mark of a respect for him and in admiration of his work.

I shall now request Your Excellency to unveil these portraits.

MR. P. V. KANE then requested His Excellency to present the Campbell Memorial Medal of 1929 to Prof. S. H. HODIVALA. He said :—

YOUR EXCELLENCY, MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

On behalf of the Bombay Asiatic Society I request Your Excellency to present the Campbell Gold Medal for 1929 to Prof. S. H. Hodivala. The name of Sir James Campbell is indissolubly connected with the monumental work of the "Bombay Gazetteer" in 26 volumes. It was in 1873 that the task of preparing the "Bombay Gazetteer" was entrusted to him and he carried on the work of editing the volumes of the Gazetteer till his retirement in 1899. Besides discharging his strenuous official duties he devoted all his energies and spare time to the completion of the great work. He did not long enjoy his well-earned rest, dying in 1903. After his death his friends, both European and Indian, resolved to perpetuate his memory by founding a medal to be awarded every three years for the best work in English regarding the history, ethnology or folklore of India. The Bombay Asiatic Society selects the recipient. The first medal was awarded in 1908. The recipients have been distinguished men in their respective spheres of work. They are Sir Aurel Stein, Dr. Devadatta Bhandarkar, Prof. Macdonell, Dr. Modi our learned President, Dr. Shama Sastry, Sir George Grierson, and Sir Jadunath Sarkar. A special medal was awarded in 1921 to the late Dewan Bahadur P. B. Joshi who had assisted Sir James Campbell in the preparation of the Gazetteer. This year the choice falls on Prof. S. H. Hodivala.

After a brilliant University career, Prof. Hodivala wholeheartedly devoted himself to the study of Indian History and Numismatics. He is now an acknowledged authority in these

subjects. I may here mention his two famous works 'Studies in Parsi History' and 'Historical Studies in Mughal Numismatics'. I, therefore, again request Your Excellency to present the Campbell Gold Medal for 1929 to Prof. S. H. Hodivala.

The President presented to His Excellency, the Patron, the first published volume of his "Asiatic Papers", Part IV, dedicated to the Society as a souvenir of the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Society.

His Excellency then formally unveiled the portraits and presented the Campbell Medal to Prof. Hodivala.

Speech of H. E. the Governor of Bombay at the 125th Anniversary.

HIS EXCELLENCY in his reply said :—

"I deem it a privilege to be present to-day, at the 125th Anniversary of this Society, and I thank you, Mr. President, for the warm welcome which you have extended to me. The history of all pioneer learned Societies like the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, must reach sooner or later, a period when the nature of its original activities suffers a diminution of range through the rising of younger societies whose object is research in special fields of knowledge which were formerly not so distinct nor so largely surveyed as to merit the attention of separate bodies of learned men. Your Society has thus passed through the common experience of learned societies the world over, during the last century, of having undertaken learned research before the then young natural sciences had matured sufficiently to set up in life for themselves.

Thus, as we have heard from your Honorary Secretary's review of the last 25 years of the Society's history, you have seen other societies and institutions arise and take their place by your side in the pursuit of knowledge, and you have found yourselves obliged, therefore, to contract your field of activity and define afresh in practice the purposes for which your Society was originally brought into existence. I am glad to know, however, that this necessary contraction of activities has in no way affected the growth of the Society's membership, nor the amount of useful

work which its library and the labours of its scholars have been able to accomplish. The striking statistics supplied in the review show, on the other hand, what a large field has remained in your Society's hands and how far concentration—such as the methods of our day demand—can accomplish in the performance of a great task, namely, the dissemination of knowledge and the advancement of research in history, biography, philology and kindred studies. That your Managing Committee has within recent years been able to extend the circulation of the Society's books beyond the limits of this Presidency is a proof of the need of such an extension and of the value of the library.

Another sign of your continued usefulness is the steady growth of your great library. I had the opportunity early this year of viewing the rooms of your Society and inspecting a few of your literary treasures and I was impressed at the time with the great service which such a collection of books and manuscripts, made by the devotion of scholars for a century and a quarter, must and does give to the intelligentsia of this Presidency. It has been, rightly, one of the chief purposes of your Society to keep this collection up to date in all the branches which it represents; and I note with pleasure that the considerable work of cataloguing and indexing this lakh of books and the valuable collection of original manuscripts in your possession has been performed.

Your Society is something more than a library and a few rooms. It is hardly necessary for me to say that your Society began as a nucleus of men interested in the collection and digestion of materials for the understanding and elucidation of the antiquities and sciences of India and the East, and throughout all these years you have faithfully pursued this aim which your forefathers—three of whom are specially remembered to-day in the portraits of Sir James Mackintosh, Dr. Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji which I have just unveiled—set before themselves and handed down to you.

It has been a pleasant duty for me this evening to unveil the portraits of three men famous in the history of this Society. The first, Sir James Mackintosh takes the same place as principal founder and first President in your history, as Sir William Jones in that of the sister Society of Bengal. It is true that Sir James was not an

Oriental scholar as his interest lay rather in fields of European learning and politics, but the idea of this Society was his : it was also his spirit and energy which brought it into being and watched over those first years of growth, which are of the most vital importance to the character and probable development of an institution. They were a splendid band of men whom he collected round him at the foundation meeting of the Bombay Literary Society in Parel Government House in November 1804, the anniversary of which we are holding in special memory to-day. It was through his influence that this Town Hall was built, which enabled the Society and its library to be accommodated in those fine rooms at the north end. It is, therefore, greatly fitting that his portrait should look down upon this realisation of his dream of a learned Society well housed and appointed, devoting itself to intellectual labours which he helped so much to make possible in these surroundings. Of him in this building it may be said as of Sir Christopher Wren in St. Paul's, *monumentum si quæris circumspice*.

Nearly two generations of your history passed before we reached the names of Dr. Bhau Daji and Pandit Bhagvanlal Indraji, whose portraits here accompany your founder's. Of Dr. Bhau Daji it was said by those who knew him best that " he never turned away his face from the poor man " though his medical practice alone brought him fame and fortune ; and of his pioneer labours in Indian Epigraphy, Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar wrote on the occasion of the great scholar's death in 1874 " no one who wishes to write a paper on the antiquities of the last 2000 years in India can do so without referring to Dr. Bhau's writings."

The third of these men, Pandit Bhagvanlal was Dr. Bhau's younger contemporary and constant collaborator in the arduous task of deciphering inscriptions in Ajanta, Ellora, Girnar and other parts of India which laid the foundations of our knowledge of ancient Indian history and epigraphy ; but again it is the man as well as the scholar that we honour and whose features you will now have in effigy.

Your existence as a Society, apart from your existence as a great circulating library, is your most valuable possession and ought never to be allowed to be submerged by financial or other considerations. It is an honour to belong to a Society like this, which has

a tradition of 125 years of continuous intellectual life and development and though a man or woman may become a member at first for the obvious benefits which your library offers, every member who began thus should feel it his duty to become truly incorporated in you, to learn something of the Society's history and traditions which have made the benefits possible and to nourish within himself feelings of personal loyalty to what is not a mere public library, nor a mere organisation for the provision of comfortable reading accommodation, but a group of men and women bound together by the same love of knowledge and inspired by a single love of truth wherever it may be found.

In conclusion I would like to wish the Society every success in the future and leave a hope that it may long enjoy the position of honour which it has held in this City and Presidency."

DR. R. ZIMMERMANN, *in proposing a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency, said :—*

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

Mine is the happy task of thanking you on behalf of the Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society, for having presided at the 125th Anniversary.

His Excellency, Ladies and Gentlemen, has laid us under a deep obligation by coming to us this afternoon. Looking at all the duties and obligations of the Governor of Bombay one might well wonder whether he is not omnipresent, or whether his day has not more than 24 hours. Still, as we know that even His Excellency can be at one place only at one time, and that his day is not longer than ours, it is a matter of sincere gratitude that he has set an hour of a crowded day apart for us.

It is no small thing to be responsible for the weal and woe of 27 millions, as the Governor of Bombay is, and if, in spite of the worries and cares of his exalted office His Excellency comes to us on the 125th anniversary, we flatter ourselves that we are not a *quantité négligeable*—again a reason for gratitude.

On the other hand, we can invite the Governor of Bombay with a good conscience. It is not every day that even he is asked to preside at a 125th anniversary, an anniversary not of an event

belonging to history, or of a person or organisation that once was, but of a live Society that has not the slightest intention of breathing its last either in this or the next century.

It was indeed in the fitness of things to ask the Governor of Bombay to preside at this function, for his predecessor, the Hon'ble Jonathan Duncan, was more than godfather to this Society when it was founded as the Literary Society of Bombay on 26th November 1804. Two more of His Excellency's predecessors, whose names have become great in the history of learning, were presidents and organisers of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, as it was re-baptized later on. Ever since the office of Patron was created in 1831, it has been held by the Governors of Bombay. Thus our Society has enjoyed the active interest and favour of the whole dynasty of Governors, and it was but loyalty on either side that they should meet on this day again.

One might even entertain a shrewd suspicion that His Excellency was very glad to accept our invitation. From experience he knows better than any one of us that an efficient and sympathetic rule is based upon the knowledge of the language, the customs, the laws, and the history of those ruled. The Bombay Branch, Royal Asiatic Society, has been a source and a channel of a good deal of this knowledge on this side of India. Is it sheer self-flattery when we suspect that His Excellency was happy in presiding over this 125th Anniversary to acknowledge the work of the Society done in the past and further it in the future?

Ladies and Gentlemen, we are certainly very happy to see His Excellency in our midst, in this historic building, the Town Hall of Bombay, the home of the Royal Asiatic Society. From these walls nearly one hundred years look down upon us; may they look down upon the 250th anniversary. Let the past be a guarantee of the future. And to-day let these walls which often have seen Governors of Bombay taking part in the meetings of our Society be witness of a hearty vote of thanks to His Excellency the Governor which I would ask you to carry with acclamation.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE
SANSKRIT AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

अ a	औ au	ठ <i>ṭh</i>	भ bh
आ ā	क k	ड ḍ	म m
इ i	ख kh	ढ ḍh	य y
ई ī	ग g	ण ṇ	र r
उ u	घ gh	त t	ल l
ऊ ū	ङ ṅ	थ th	व v
ऋ ṛ	च c	द d	श ś
ॠ ṝ	छ ch	ध dh	ष ṣ
ऌ ḷ	ज j	न n	स s
ए e	झ jh	प p	ह h
ऐ ai	ञ ñ	फ ph	ळ ḷ
ओ o	ट ṭ	ब b	

(Anusvāra) ṁ	×	(Jihvāmūliya) ḥ
(Anunāsika) ṁ̄	×	(Upadhmānīya) ḥ̄
(Visarga) ḥ	s	(Avagraha) ,

TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC AND ALLIED ALPHABETS

ARABIC.

ا a	ز z	ق q	ـَ i or e
ب b	س s	ك k	ـُ u or o
ت t	ش <u>sh</u>	ل l	ـَـ ā
ث <u>th</u>	ص s	م m	ـِـ ē, e
ج j	ض d	ن n	ـُـ ū, o
ح h	ط t	و w	ـِـ a
خ <u>kh</u>	ظ z	ه h	ـِـ au
د d	ع ‘	ي y	silent t h
ذ <u>dh</u>	غ <u>gh</u>	‘ ‘	
ر r	ف f	ـِـ a	

PERSIAN.

پ p	چ <u>ch</u>	ژ <u>zh</u>	گ
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